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The Shape of Things

THE NEWS FROM FREED FRANCE, POURING out in exuberant abundance, is filled with the color and fierce excitement that should characterize the rebirth of a great nation of revolutionary traditions. One reads the transcript of a radio talk made from the square in front of Notre Dame. De Gaulle arrives to join the multitude in a solemn Te Deum in the ancient cathedral. Suddenly the noise of shots, shouts, breaks into the broadcast. Then silence. Then the announcer describes the flurry of gunfire, the rush of people to shelter, and the unforgettable sight of De Gaulle walking into the cathedral, slowly, with absolute calm, through a hail of shots. "It was the most extraordinary example of courage I have ever seen." . . . One meets Sacha Guitry, under arrest as a collaborationist, complaining to reporters at the Palais de Justice that really he should be treated better as "a man of refinement and cultivation." (For the interview, Guitry was dressed in a beige worsted checked suit and a shirt "of white silk with a flowery pattern in red, white, green, and purple.") . . . One reads the painful, squirming letters exchanged among the Vichy officials and their Nazi bosses—Pétain, Laval, Abetz—side by side with the dignified final protest of the great democrat, Herriot, betrayed by Laval to the Germans. (How fitting and inevitable that climax!) . . . Or Pétain's miserable last plea to his fellow countrymen to obey the leaders "who tell you to follow a policy of reconciliation and renaissance of France through reciprocal forgiveness and love of your fellow countrymen—those are the real French leaders. Be at their side." Thus the ancient gravedigger takes his departure. . . . The story piles up—jumbled, contradictory, impossible to piece together. But one thread of meaning runs through it: Victory in France is synonymous with revolution.

*

HITLER'S BALKAN EMPIRE IS NOW IN RUINS. Under the impact of the renewed Russian offensive Rumania has switched sides and with its defection the Nazi positions throughout the Balkans, already precarious, have become untenable. As we go to press Russian tanks and motorized infantry are pouring into the Ploesti oil region, and Rumanian troops are fighting their recent allies. Bulgaria has approached the Western Allies for

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peace terms and has promised Russia not only to get out of the war, but to disarm all German forces in the country. It is believed, though no announcement has been made, that Bulgaria has agreed to evacuate the Greek and Yugoslav territories with which Hitler had purchased its support. In Hungary, another tottering satellite, the Germans are likely to hold on desperately since Hungary is in the path of retreat for their Balkan forces. Moreover, it is their last remaining source of natural oil. Hence they are attempting to tighten their grip on the country by means of a reorganization of its quisling government. But it remains to be seen whether they can keep the Hungarian army fighting the Russians in southern Poland now that the Rumanians are moving troops to recover Transylvania. That province was Hungary's reward for joining the Axis and they are far more concerned with saving it than with helping to hold back the Red Army from the German frontier. And so the Nazis, faced with a Russian sweep endangering their whole southern flank, suddenly find allies changed to enemies. The collapse of Axis power in Rumania and Bulgaria will in turn force a German withdrawal from Yugoslavia and Greece and the time may not be far distant when Tito's Partisans will link up with the Red Army. As Bogdan Raditsa writes elsewhere in this issue, "The long, dark Balkan night is over." Soon this war-torn corner of Europe should begin to turn to the problems of the new day which he discusses.

*

THE SPEECH WHICH COUNT CARLO SFORZA delivered in Rome last week was the first public declaration of Italy's foreign policy by a member of the Bonomi cabinet and the first practical attempt to solve the long-standing difficulties between Italy and the Balkans. As far as Greece is concerned, Sforza declared that "if the population of the Dodecanese Islands wishes to be annexed to Greece," Italy will have no objection. The desire of the population on the islands—and of the entire Greek people—is overwhelmingly in favor of that annexation, of course. Sforza asks that Fiume be made "one of the seats" of a super league of nations, to link eastern and western Europe and to solace Russia for its grievances at Geneva. Certainly, Yugoslavia is unlikely to accept such a solution to the problem of the Dalmatian Coast. Yugoslavia wants not only Fiume, but Zara, Istria, Gorizia, and also Trieste, which Sforza sees as an "internationalized" port, belonging officially to Italy, but in whose administration Yugoslavia would have a hand. This last suggestion is a step forward from Sforza's attitude of some twenty years ago, and the Yugoslavs, if not the Italians, may be inclined to look favorably upon it. They will not hesitate to underline the necessity, which Sforza pointed out, of a Yugoslav federal union with Bulgaria, stretching from the Adriatic to the Black Sea. This is the Mazzinian conception of Italian foreign policy, which Sforza honestly defended during his career. It is encouraging to see it returning to life.

*

IN FORWARDING HIS LATEST LEND-LEASE report to Congress the Preident urged: "Until the unconditional surrender of both Japan and Germany, we should continue the lend-lease program on whatever scale is necessary to make the combined striking power of all the United Nations as overwhelming and as effective as we can make it." Considering the fact that we have been fighting the whole global war as a joint enterprise, the continued pooling of resources after the fall of Germany ought to be beyond argument. But such groups as the National Association of Manufacturers are insinuating that the prolongation of lend-lease will enable Britain to hold down its national debt at our expense and to obtain unfair advantages in world trade. According to some unnamed informants quoted by the *Wall Street Journal*, Britain will be able to supply its own military needs for a finish fight with Japan after Germany is knocked out. Therefore, it is asserted, the continuance of lend-lease would permit British industry to be more rapidly reconverted than American, giving it a head start in post-war exports. It would be more accurate to say that if Britain does not continue to receive lend-lease aid, particularly in the form of food, it will be compelled to divert industrial capacity from armament manufacture to the production of export goods in order to be able to pay for those imports it must obtain or starve. In any event, as the President's report points out, American cash exports—that is, other than lend-lease goods—have been maintained at pre-war levels and have been increasing for the past year. On the other hand, British exports have been deliberately cut to the bone in the interests of greater war production and are now barely 50 per cent of their pre-war value. In the post-war trade stakes American traders are miles in front.

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WHEN THE NEWS OF THE RESIGNATION OF Brazil's Foreign Minister, Oswaldo Aranha, appeared in the American press, it caused an immediate sensation. Brazil has been generally looked upon in this country as one of South America's stable dictatorships; thanks both to the tight censorship of Vargas's Department of Propaganda and to the influence exercised at this end by the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, almost none of the events leading up to the present government crisis have been made public. A few of them are briefly sketched in the Political War Section this week, and *The Nation* plans to follow events in Brazil with close attention in the weeks ahead. Meanwhile, the question that most agitates Americans is whether Aranha's resignation will draw Brazil away from the United States and closer to Argentina. This may, of course, happen.

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But a profound rivalry exists between the two leading South American countries, and Brazil's ties with the United States are cemented with many millions of dollars' worth of lend-lease material and bases. Certainly Vargas will do his best to maintain his good—and profitable—relations with us, while he attempts to bolster up his internal position with repression and every other fascist technique. He may hope to act as mediator between Argentina and the United States and he may even move closer to Argentina and try to form a common front against the spread of "communism" on the continent. But whatever course he takes in foreign relations, we can be sure that his general policy will be dictated by one aim—to keep his own crowd in power and his own head on his shoulders. This is what really lies behind his prompt acceptance of Aranha's resignation.

*

HERBERT HOOVER MUST HAVE REJOICED AS the House Ways and Means Committee reaffirmed its faith in "rugged individualism" by eliminating the last of the George bill's provisions for orderly demobilization of the country's war workers. Not satisfied with having rejected a federally sponsored retraining program for war workers and having knocked out all arrangements for helping migrant war workers to return to their homes, the committee refused to extend the benefits of unemployment insurance to the millions of emergency federal employees who will be displaced at the end of the war. With these provisions eliminated, the George bill remains little more than an empty shell. If the committee has its way, civilian demobilization is to be carried out on an each-man-for-himself basis. Regardless of the economic fallacy of supposing that an orderly adjustment to a peacetime economy can be made in such a fashion, the committee has shown incredibly poor judgment in taking this action in face of the critical situation on the manpower and production front. Manpower authorities are seriously disturbed by the fact that many war workers are quitting their jobs to seek permanent civilian positions. In recent weeks the War Manpower Commission has been making a special effort to persuade civilian workers and men thrown out of work by cut-backs to migrate to areas where there is still a shortage of manpower. By announcing that war workers will have to fend for themselves without federal assistance when hostilities end, the Ways and Means Committee is, in effect, sabotaging the manpower program. We trust that the President will intervene before too much damage has been done.

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IT IS A CRIME, IT WOULD SEEM, FOR THE Department of Justice to attempt to enforce the law when the law is the Sherman Anti-Trust Act and the defendants are wealthy corporations. This is the only conclusion to be drawn from the unmeasured abuse hurled at the department whenever it invokes the act against really powerful vested interests. The latest instance is the reaction to a suit filed by Assistant Attorney General Wendell Berge in Lincoln, Nebraska, against forty-seven Western railroads, their New York bankers, and other coadjutors, charging them with unlawful agreements to restrict competition. Roaring defiance at the department, Charles E. Johnston, chairman of the Western Association of Railroad Executives, one of the defendant organizations, declared that the Attorney General was seeking to set up a dictatorship over industry by attempting to enforce "a revolutionary change . . . in the method of establishing freight rates." This, in a sense, is true. It will be revolutionary if the Department of Justice ends a system by which secret cabals of "competitors" fix freight rates, by which the Southern and Western states are charged discriminatory rates which hinder their industries from developing in competition with those of the East, by which improvements in railroad services and facilities are retarded in order to avoid "wasteful competition." It will be a revolutionary change but a very salutary one. The railroads, the Eastern bankers who control them, and their Eastern editorial supporters may rant and sneer but the South and West will take a very different view. As Carey McWilliams points out in his article on page 263, this question of discriminatory freight rates is a burning issue on the Pacific coast. It is no less so in the South. For in both these "colonial" regions men of all political colors are girding for battle to protect their war-born industries from destruction by Eastern monopolists.

Let France Clean House

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE hour is one for rejoicing, but for rejoicing tempered by watchfulness, for rejoicing backed by determination. Paris is free; France is being liberated; the Russian forces in the East are driving toward the walls of Hitler's inner fortress—but Hitler is not defeated. Whether his power will collapse suddenly or will gird itself for fierce, suicidal resistance, no one knows. The military factors involved in this question are discussed on another page by Charles G. Bolté. The political factors cannot be weighed; they can only be cited.

Mr. Churchill thinks the war has been growing less ideological as it nears its end. Surely he is wrong. The war is becoming more ideological. Indeed, only when the military struggle is finished will the political struggle really get under way. But even now political elements enter into every calculation. Whether or not the Nazi armies force the Allies to conquer Germany inch by inch depends not only on the weight and disposition of men

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and armor; it depends as greatly on the moral strength of the Nazi idea in the army and among the people. If Hitler's "sacred fanaticism" controls the behavior of both, the war will go on as long as weapons and men remain. Even if the people are as disillusioned and war-weary as reports indicate, the army might still fight hard on the frontier, as it has done with less reason in many isolated strongholds in France. But if the conviction of ultimate defeat has begun to undermine both the stamina of the people at home and the will of the soldiers to kill and to die, then collapse may come soon and suddenly. We do not know how much political strength Hitler has left and so speculation about the duration of the war, while natural, is futile. It may even prove demoralizing if the fight wears on into next winter. What is needed is a kind of tough fatalism, a determination to fight and produce as if Hitler's armies were at the peak of their power; and to back the military offensive with propaganda calculated to hurry the disintegration of Nazi arrogance and zeal.

But the morale of Hitler's cohorts is only one of the political factors that men of democratic temper must weigh. The freeing of Paris, largely through the magnificent revolt of its population, and the successful operations of the F.F.I. all over France, give notice to friends as well as foes that the future of the country will be what its resistance forces wish it to be. Do not doubt that De Gaulle knows that and accepts it. Writers who prophesy, with what sounds like a note of malicious hope, mounting difficulties between the provisional government and the resistance, offer no proof. And De Gaulle's appointed officials in France have by all accounts gone out of their way to defer to the men and women who have fought their way through the years of occupation and Nazi terror.

When the government moves to Paris, it will undoubtedly be reorganized to take in a greater number of resistance leaders. Differences will arise; political divisions have not been wiped out by the struggle for liberation. But the passionate desire in all groups for a renovated democracy is likely to give France a period of genuine cooperation among the resistance elements.

Where a political break is likely is in the ranks of the provisional government itself. The removal of the government to France will certainly necessitate a purge of dubious elements. The Algiers administration is cluttered with souvenirs of British-American diplomacy: pre-war bureaucrats as well as Vichy left-overs from the days of Darlan and Giraud. These must go if the government is to have the confidence or properly represent the revolutionary fighters of France. Even some honest patriots may be forced out of a regime which must provide a maximum of toughness, coupled with energy and efficiency, to meet the demands of a great nation laid waste by four years of slavery and looting.

Above all, the fascists and collaborationists must be cleaned out of every government office, every courtroom, every school, every newspaper in France. The purge must be thorough or the purposes of the struggle will have been lost. The French in the liberated areas have already shown their determination to do the job, and so far the Allied military authorities have had the sense to keep their hands off and let the people who have suffered mete out justice to those who betrayed them.

Is this a fixed policy or, when the French civil administration takes hold under the agreements just signed by General Eisenhower and General Koenig, will the Allies try to deflect these processes from their appointed course? It is impossible to forget that the danger of "disorder" was as often urged as the danger of "dictatorship" to justify American hostility to the Free French. It is impossible to forget Allied intervention in North Africa on behalf of collaborationists accused of treason or other political crimes. Perhaps that page in the history of our relations with France has been torn out and the new agreements inserted in its place. But if this is so, why was Robert Murphy recently made General Eisenhower's adviser on French affairs? And why do we now hear that he is being seriously considered for the post of American representative to the provisional government?

Defenders of Mr. Murphy like to remind one that he had favored the recognition of De Gaulle for some time before the General visited Washington. This may well be true. Our French expert is an old hand at expediency. Like his friend Darlan, he knows when to switch sides. But this explanation is not apt to satisfy French democrats who take seriously their fight against fascism whether of Berlin or Vichy make. To appoint Robert Murphy representative to the French provisional government would be a profound insult to the men and women who have risked their lives to exterminate the very elements whom Murphy protected and helped establish in power.

The French people know what Murphy will never know—and why should he when so great a leader as Churchill also fails to recognize it?—that this war is a fragment of an unfinished revolution. Hitler must be defeated; but also, and equally, the men who defended him and made deals with him and profits out of him—the friends of Robert Murphy—must be defeated. And the system of control, political and economic, that bred the whole fascist plague must be defeated. All this is happening in France. It will happen in other parts of Europe, even if we should use the power of food and money and diplomacy to try to prevent it. One Murphy will not stop a revolution; but the appointment of Murphy would go far to convince the people of France, and of other countries too, that even now, with our armies fighting their way to Germany, we Americans have only the foggiest idea what the war is all about.

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The Peace Plans

SO FAR as can be judged from the outside the Dumbarton Oaks Conference is going well. The peace plans presented by the Big Three agree not only in most essentials but, to a considerable extent, in detail as well. On the chief issue, the necessity for creating an international security organization with power to prevent aggression, there is complete unanimity. As for detail, it is agreed that the new organization should be constructed on the same general lines as the League of Nations, with an assembly made up of delegates from all nations, great and small, and a council of eleven or twelve in which America, Britain, Russia, China, and probably France, would be permanently represented. The council would be responsible, as the American plan states it, "for the peaceful settlement of international disputes and the security of the nations." It would have the duty of deciding when and how military force should be employed in suppressing aggression. No international "police force" is provided for in the American or British plans; the forces employed would presumably be drawn from the regular armies of the members of the Big Four in whose sphere the aggression was committed. These forces would be called upon only after a majority vote of the council, in which all four of the major powers must concur.

It is easy to pick flaws in the proposals. They lack the mechanical perfection of Culbertson's superstate. Idealists will find that they are not based on as lofty a conception of principle as the League of Nations. To an even greater extent than the League, the new security organization will be frankly an instrument of the great powers. But although the proposed organization bears the marks of expediency, we must not allow its obvious defects to blind us to its immense constructive possibilities. Honest isolationists rarely object to international cooperation in principle. Their isolationism consists rather of refusing to participate in any particular venture in international cooperation because it does not fit their conception of an ideal world. The war has shown that we can no longer allow ourselves this luxury.

Judged in terms of political realities rather than abstract principle, the plan on which the Big Three are seemingly agreed has merit. It provides a mechanism for making the United Nations a permanent reality. The three Western powers that have shown themselves most interested in preserving peace—the United States, Britain, and the Soviet Union—are put in a position where they can no longer dodge the responsibility that goes with strength—as all of them did, at one time or another, in the late 1930's. Moreover, the plan seems to offer these three powers—without whose cooperation peace is impossible—a common interest for working closely together. This may be sufficient, as President Roosevelt has suggested, to provide "a peaceful period for our grandchildren to grow up in."

Assurance of peace however, is most certainly not provided by any scheme which leaves each of the major powers fully armed and the sole judge of its own behavior. The League operated fairly effectively in preventing wars between smaller nations, but it collapsed completely when confronted with differences between the major powers. This problem has been met only to the extent that the war has reduced the number of major powers. No mechanism has even been proposed for curbing aggression on the part of Britain, Russia, China, or the United States. Nor is provision made for action in case any one of the Big Four is reluctant, for one reason or another, to move against an aggressor. This means that each of the powers controlling the council will, in effect, make its own law within its sphere of influence, subject only to such moral suasion as the other powers and the smaller countries are able to exercise.

These weaknesses are, of course, inescapable in a plan that depends upon national armies for the enforcement of peace. No nation is going to permit its army to be ordered about, or its boys to be sent to war, by an international agency unless it concurs in the action. Only an army that is international in personnel and direction could be used impartially against all aggressors regardless of size or political alignments. Such an army has been ruled out as "impractical" by both the United States and Great Britain, presumably out of deference to isolationist opinion in this country. Russia has proposed the creation of an international air force, but the United States, as the leading air power, has been extremely cool to the idea.

Important though it is to work for a strengthening of the mechanism of the new organization, our main efforts in the coming months will doubtless have to be exerted in defending the plan against those who oppose even this halting step toward internationalism. Already there are indications of the nature of the campaign that will be waged against it. As in the case of Lodge's successful attack on the League, the campaign will not be directed against the organization in principle. Instead, the opposition will concentrate on details, hoping to weaken it beyond hope of effectiveness. Arthur Krock has suggested, for example, that isolationists may seek to emasculate the new organization by insisting that Congress retain power to veto the use of American troops by direction of the council, even though such action is approved by the American representative on the council. Dozens of other crippling reservations doubtless will be suggested. But 1944 is not 1920. The favorable reception given to the Dumbarton Oaks proposals throughout the country indicates that America is now prepared to accept the responsibilities it rejected a quarter of a century ago. That in itself represents progress.

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The War Fronts

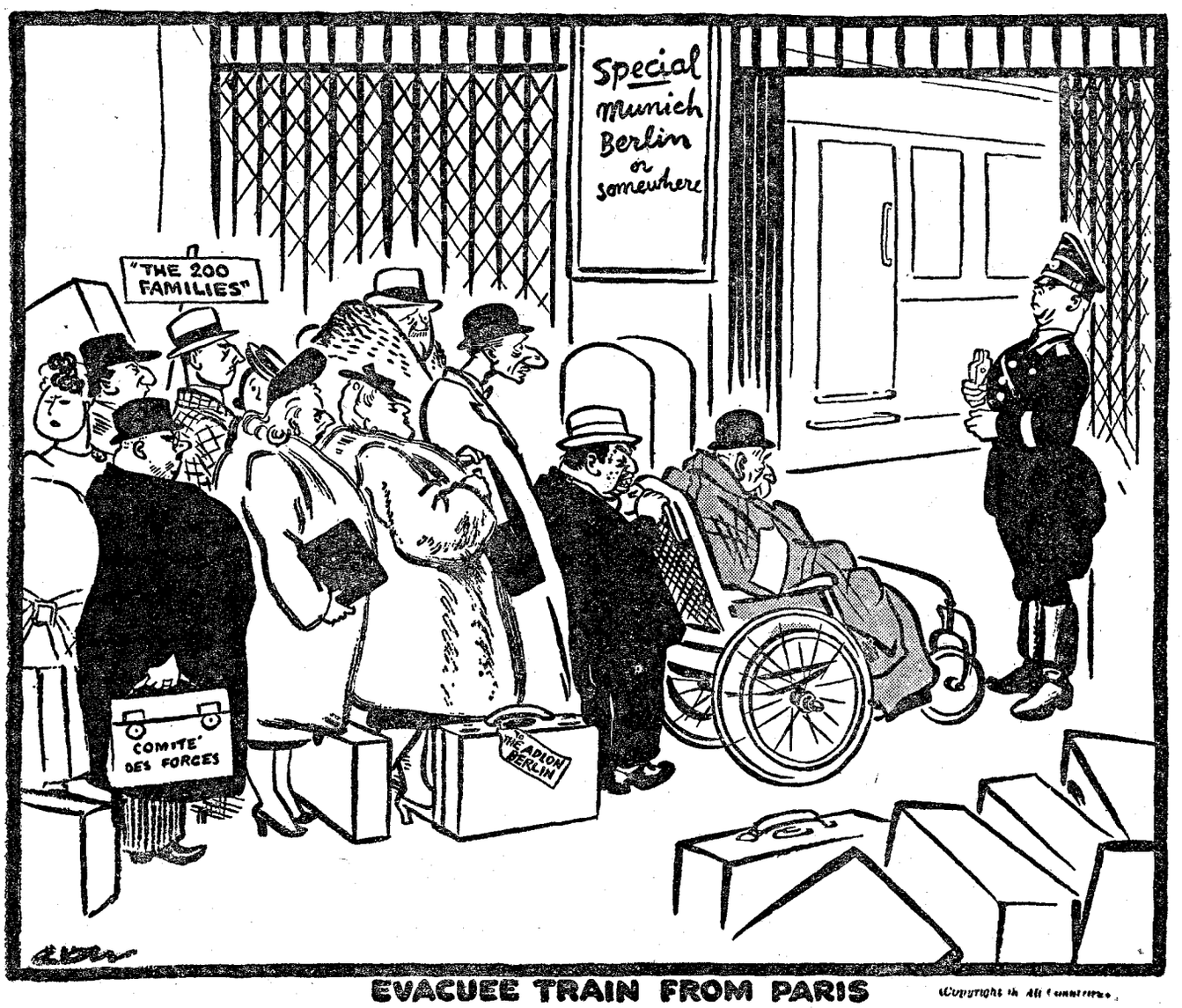
BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

Hitler's Blitzkrieg in Reverse

RISKING the wrath of official Washington and the fate of all prophets, I am prepared to guess in print that Germany will be out of the war by November 15.

Indeed, November 15 may seem a very generous date; but we've learned from this war that when Jerry's in a hopeless position everybody knows he's licked except Jerry. On the other hand, we've also learned that when he's holding a last-ditch position and that position is then broken through, he cracks up very quickly. The Wehrmacht is now in a hopeless position, but it won't admit it's licked; inside ten weeks it should have been brought to a last-ditch position, that position should have been broken through, and then the Wehrmacht should have cracked up very quickly indeed. Remember the bitter fight the Germans made in Tunisia, until Alexander's brilliant break-through of the lines guarding Tunis and Bizerte, when German resistance suddenly vanished; substitute Germany proper for Cap Bon, and you can estimate how sudden the collapse will be.

Two weeks ago in these columns I said that the Germans must hold the line following the Seine from Havre to Paris and running southeast to Dijon, which protected the flying-bomb bases of the Pas de Calais and the approaches to the Reich. That line is already gone, punctured by half a dozen armored columns, and the enemy is evacuating the Pas de Calais. This means that the Battle of France is over, no matter if the enemy's tenacious and skilful rear guards delay the Allied advance to the borders of Germany. Strategically the Battle of



EVACUEE TRAIN FROM PARIS

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France was won when General Patton (arch-fiend become archangel through a twist in public relations) sent a column through Sens and Troyes quickly east, when the remnants of the German Seventh Army were squeezed in the Seine pocket after having lost most of their colleagues in the Argentan pocket, and when the Allies established Seine bridgeheads between Paris and the sea. Psychologically the whole Battle of Europe was won when Paris was liberated.

Psychology aside, the military picture is overwhelmingly one-sided, both in strength and in brains. The reverse blitzkrieg is showing itself a tremendously powerful, mobile, and fast weapon. We built up the strength needed for this multi-columned drive with only a single major port to funnel through, and that not in full working order. The enemy, crossed by our refusal to land in Pas de Calais, incredibly sent part of his Fifteenth Army to retrieve the Normandy debacle; thus weakened in the key sector, and having lost about thirty divisions, he is forced by the outflanking threat of that Patton column east of Troyes to leave the Pas de Calais altogether.

Swiftest progress may still be expected in the center of the northern French front, towards Alsace and Lorraine, and in the south, where the enemy is thin on the ground and the F. F. I. strongest, towards the important Belfort Gap—a highway to the Reich which will be held with determination. In the north the rear guards will fight hard, to allow the flying-bomb crews to get in their dirty work and the Todt gang to build up the Westwall. This may be extended to the sea, possibly along the Albert Canal, the shortest line across Belgium. Then, if this line can be strengthened enough to enforce delay, there is General Brereton's new command, an entire airborne army, big enough to take any such fixed fortifications from the rear and open the route into Germany.

Meanwhile victory comes like the sun from the East, as it did twenty-six years ago. The Balkan bastion is split wide open, and although no one has to go to Berlin by way of the Iron Gate, the German and satellite divisions here are largely lost to the enemy—perhaps a hundred of them have been erased from the Oberkommando's order of battle in the past ten days.

Also lost are the Ploesti oilfields, as the highly-touted Galati Gap defenses have been swept away. As the circle constricts about the Reich, the Wehrmacht—including the Luftwaffe—is trying to wage mobile defensive warfare without gas. Buried in the headlines of the past weeks is one of the great air-power stories of the war: the attrition of synthetic-oil refineries by Allied bombers. Actually the significance of this offensive is second only to the Black Week of the Luftwaffe last February, when the USAAF crippled Germany's warplane potential on the assembly line.

That is the picture: France lost, the Balkans going, Warsaw threatened with encirclement and the way thus to be opened for a drive to the Oder, constant pressure in Italy tying down precious divisions, no gas. It is a picture without hope for Germany. But the SS seems to be in charge there, and chances of civilian collapse are remote—of revolution, negligible: there is overwhelming apathy within the Reich. The only hope is for time—time to bring V-2 into action, ten tons of rocket bomb against England; time for something else, perhaps gas. But Germany's leaders must act quickly, for the Allied arms are robbers of time, and the impetus of drives east and west will be hard to stop.

Nelson vs. Wilson

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, August 25

TO UNDERSTAND the Nelson-Wilson row one must keep in mind that there are two controversies going on here, both under the same general heading of reconversion. One, being debated in Congress, involves legislation on the planning, direction, and control of the reconversion of industry to peacetime output once the war is over, and this includes such key questions as the amount of unemployment compensation to be paid during the changeover. The other, being fought out among the military and civilian agencies concerned with war production, involves the question of when and under what conditions they should begin to release and allocate materials and manpower for the resumption of civilian production. The Nelson-Wilson row concerned the second, not the first.

This reconversion controversy involves the extent to which reconversion shall be permitted before the European war is over. This is not a question easily answered. In the controversy over conversion, at the very beginning of the war-production program, we were confronted by a clear question of fact: Could existing facilities and machinery be converted to the making of war materials? In the controversy over production scheduling, we were confronted with a clear issue of method: Was it necessary to go beyond the allocation of materials to the scheduling of production itself if we were to get maximum output from industry? Dogmatic answers were justified

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in both cases; as a general rule conversion was possible, and as a general rule production-scheduling was wise. But this problem of reconversion is one of timing and degree, in which dogmatism is hazardous, if not impossible.

Everyone agrees that only limited quantities of materials and manpower could be allocated at this time to the resumption of civilian output. The armed services are strongly opposed to allocating even limited amounts for that purpose. It is possible to discern three different sets of motivations behind this attitude. In the first place the procurement services of Army and Navy are dominated by men from big-business concerns. Big business, having hogged the bulk of war orders, now finds itself with backlogs much greater than those of smaller enterprises. Should reconversion begin before the war is over, and while the big concerns are still filling war orders, their smaller competitors would get back into the civilian market ahead of them.

In the second place, there are regular Army and Navy officers, in the procurement services and above them, who have a "brass-hat" contempt for civilian considerations and an arrogant attitude toward civilian agencies. Some of these officers, like General Somervell, head of the Army Service Forces, are men of ability and competence and have done a good job. They are strongly disinclined, even where it can be done without harm to the war effort, to pay any attention to those who argue the social desirability of giving smaller enterprises a chance to resume civilian output where small quantities of materials and manpower are available, and of permitting as much resumption of civilian production as possible. Obviously our difficulties in the post-war period will be lessened if reconversion has already begun before the war is over and the market for war goods collapses.

But it would be unfair to attribute the hostile attitude of the War and Navy departments to reconversion solely to big-business and brass-hat influences. The Army cannot be certain that the end of the European war is in sight. What if the Germans, behind the Rhine and the Oder, succeed in making a prolonged stand? What if many more guns, shells, tanks, and trucks may be necessary for victory? The Navy, whose major concern is the Pacific war, cannot be certain that Japan will conveniently collapse six months or so after Hitler. In Europe, the biggest job is being done by the Russians, and we share the burdens of the western front with the British. In the Pacific, after the European war is over, we may find ourselves bearing the major share of the burden. Extensive military as well as naval action may be necessary. This would require a continued Navy flow of material.

There is great and far from unjustified fear that if reconversion gets under way, it will be very difficult to keep the mind of business on the war. Workers will begin shifting to civilian plants. Business men still on war orders will worry about what their competitors are doing. If the Pacific war slowed down and it was necessary to convert a good many plants back to war work, many sections of industry might prefer a negotiated peace with Japan. These War and Navy officials remember that war orders were slighted for business-as-usual until well after Pearl Harbor, and do not trust the War Production Board to keep industry in hand if a reconversion stampede should start.

Charles E. Wilson, former head of General Electric, executive vice-chairman of the WPB, and its principal liaison with the armed services, has been going slow on reconversion. Donald M. Nelson, former head of Sears-Roebuck, chairman of the WPB, has for many months hoped to speed up the process. The former is the best production man, the latter the best politician, the WPB has had. I lean to Nelson's side in this controversy, but I cannot see him as St. George or Wilson as the dragon. The reconversion orders recently issued by Nelson are of so cautious and limited a character, and the procedure they establish so cumbersome, that they can hardly interfere with the war effort. They do, on the other hand, provide some slight possibility for helping little business to get back into the civilian market.

Despite this, I find Nelson's present posture as a champion of small business somewhat ludicrous. He has been head of the WPB from the beginning. He must bear the responsibility for the WPB's failure to give small business a fair share of war orders. His shrewd maneuvering in Congress in 1942 emasculated the Smaller War Plants Corporation Act. When he began to talk reconversion more than a year ago, it was without reference to small business.

Latterly, he has shifted to the politically powerful task of linking reconversion with aid to little business. I am inclined to believe that the main element in the Nelson-Wilson struggle was Nelson's jealousy of Wilson, his fear of losing command of the WPB. And I cannot help but feel that Nelson's covert press campaign against Wilson was an underhanded and ignoble business. Nelson is slippery and two-faced, and does not fight fair. The "love session" yesterday with Wilson, in which Nelson denied there were differences between them and deplored the very stories for which Nelson and his aides are responsible, was typical.

Now Wilson has resigned and the President this morning dodged the question of whether Nelson would resume control of the WPB on his return from China. J. A. Krug, an ex-TVA man popular with big business but not with the public power people here, is replacing Wilson. Whether Nelson returns or not, the Wilson resignation makes little, if any, real difference, except to deprive us of a man who did a good job breaking production bottlenecks. Through Byrnes, big business and the military still control the timing and extent of reconversion. Little business is still outside looking in.

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Moscow Looks at Dumbarton Oaks

BY ANNA LOUISE STRONG

Moscow, August 22, by Cable

"LET there be hunger. Let there be cold. Let us freeze and starve to death in our homes. Only let there be no more war."

In these words my Moscow sister-in-law expressed the passionate wish for a stable peace that animates every Soviet citizen I have seen since my arrival six weeks ago. Her last two brothers had just left for the front. Three others are already dead, two in battle, one from overwork. Her father died from the exhaustion and strain of evacuation from the occupied area. Eight other close relatives, women and children, were murdered by the Nazis in the Ukraine.

Her husband—editor of a factory newspaper whose task is whipping up war production—was equally likely to become a casualty. He had returned from the factory at seven o'clock that Sunday morning after working all night and had dropped into bed telling his wife to call him at ten-thirty so he could return to work. Eighteen or twenty hours of responsible work daily for three years without Sunday rest or vacation had not only destroyed their home life but had reduced him physically to a nervous shadow.

Their case is quite typical. The war here has spared no one. Americans will never understand the strain endured by the Soviet people. Similarly the Soviet people cannot understand how a country engaged in war can spare the energy for election discussions. The American elections therefore somewhat disquiet people here, not because they doubt America's participation in the war to the finish but because a military victory is only half a victory. The other half is the establishment of a sound, enduring peace. Everyone knows this depends on the closest friendship with America and Britain. After three years of growing friendship and joint action with America, people here naturally dread the possible shifting of post-war policies which the American system so casually permits.

Soviet post-war policy is absolutely clear in its basic principles. It was expressed last October in the three-power declaration of the Moscow conference, recognizing the necessity of an international organization for peace and security on the basis of the equal sovereignty of peace-loving nations both large and small. No Soviet official has made any change in or addition to that declaration. All await a more concrete formulation of this basic principle by the joint conference at Dumbarton Oaks. Dewey's statement, making Dumbarton Oaks the center of an inter-party discussion, therefore seems here like playing politics with the destinies of the world.

No "Soviet plan" for Dumbarton Oaks has been published in Moscow. The first Russian assumption is that the underlying principle is Anglo-Soviet-American cooperation, which is more important than anything else. The second assumption is that the exact form of international organization is a matter for experts in international affairs. The third assumption is that all decisions must be reached jointly with American and British experts, and it would therefore have been unwise to announce a specifically "Soviet plan" before the conference.

All Soviet officials emphatically refuse to be interviewed regarding any post-war details. Comment in the Soviet press regarding post-war international organization is excessively meager and confined either to support of the general principles of Anglo-Soviet-American cooperation or to technical commentaries by unofficial but able writers who clearly state that their ideas are "only to start discussion."

The so-called Soviet plan which presumably formed the basis of Dewey's comments was contributed by Malinin, who writes on international affairs as a technical expert. It was printed in the April number of an obscure Leningrad journal, *Zvezda,* an organ for Soviet writers which is practically unobtainable in Moscow except in libraries. It was published "for purposes of discussion" and was obviously unofficial, with only such authority as the ideas themselves warrant. As such it has considerable merit.

Malinin's thesis is that the League of Nations failed not because of specific flaws in organization but because of unsatisfactory mutual relations between the great powers and the League and among the great powers themselves. He proposes that the draft constitution of the new international organization be worked out by the four great powers who assume responsibility to repel aggression. Then the draft constitution should go to a conference of all the United Nations who become founders and original members. Then the neutrals will be invited to join. Later, after a trial period, Germany and its satellites may also join but only if they cease to propagandize their fascist theories and to practice racial and religious and national discrimination. Malinin's plan provides for a majority vote of all member nations on general questions, a two-thirds vote on serious decisions like sanctions, but permits emergency action to halt aggressors by the four great powers alone. He considers an international army impracticable but an interna-

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tional air force practicable and sufficient to halt initial aggressions.

That most important journal, *War and the Working Class,* has just appeared with two articles on the problem of peace and security. These are undoubtedly more authoritative than the Malinin article but are also less detailed, dealing largely with general principles. The leading editorial in this journal greets the conference in America on "the working principles" adopted at the Moscow conference last autumn. Again it emphasizes cooperation between Russia, America, and Britain.

Dewey is not mentioned but his presumed argument for the smaller nations is sharply attacked. The article says that the small nations even more than the big ones need security and peace. The very existence of the small nations has been saved by the increasing cooperation of the Soviet Union with America and Britain in the present war. A stable peace, which is essential to the small nations, depends primarily on whether the great powers can resolve all the differences which stand in the way of long-time agreements.

It is clear from all this that the Soviet Union considers joint cooperation with America and Britain the necessary cornerstone of durable peace and feels worried by any suggestion of American aloofness. It is also clear that the Soviet experts have detailed and perhaps novel proposals regarding the new international organization for security; but it is most clear that no such details are considered worth the sacrifice of American friendship.

In this connection it is worth noting an editorial in *Pravda* a couple of days ago, which presumably answered a criticism by a Turkish writer regarding the Red Army's action in the Warsaw uprising. One might assume that the Red Army needed no justification before the Turks. *Pravda,* however, devoted front-page space to an explanation that the Red Army has not ceased for a single day its struggle under the walls of Warsaw but is fighting for that city as devotedly as for Kharkov and Kiev.

The Red Army thus far has taken many cities, continues *Pravda,* some by storm and more by outflanking. But the Red Army never took a city by the correlation of a frontal attack with an uprising within the city. The Red Army always discouraged such tactics. You cannot have a successful uprising in a city when it is filled to the limit with enemy tanks, planes, and guns.

It is difficult to believe that *Pravda* was sufficiently interested in the Turkish journalist to make such explanations. It is sadder to realize that American and British papers make comments requiring such explanations. It is another example of the almost painful intensity with which the Soviets today seek to clear up any questions which might disturb the understanding between themselves and the United States. *Pravda* obviously avoids even the mention of American critics in order not to increase the sense of division.

In the Wind

REMEMBER Dr. William Wirt, the man who in 1933 discovered that Roosevelt was playing Kerensky to the Brain Trust's Lenins, Trotskys, and Stalins? Well, John W. Anderson, president of the Motor and Equipment Manufacturers' Association, said this about him in a recent address entitled "Shall We Permit the Ism-ites of the Screw Deal to Keep Small Business Forever on Crutches?" at a meeting of the Gary, Indiana, Chamber of Commerce: "Unless this nation, within the next generation, awakens to erect a shrine to the memory of William Wirt, our national epitaph may be written for us instead by those foreign gangs who have schemed to destroy us."

NORMAN THOMAS recently released to the press an open letter to Reinhold Niebuhr and the Union for Democratic Action, asking how they could justify liberal support of Roosevelt. The letter went easy on Dewey but attacked the New Deal vigorously. It got a good play in the New York *Daily News* and *Herald Tribune;* Dr. Niebuhr's reply was not published at all. In answer to a letter to the *Herald Tribune,* the UDA received a profuse apology by telephone, but no space.

LUCIUS BEEBE on the home front: "While nosing into a sherry flip at the very chic Atlantic Beach Club, Herman Sartorius, just in from Hollywood, where he had gone for Clifton Webb's party for George and Valentina Schlee, reports it the most staggeringly opulent blowout in recent years, lasting from cocktails until breakfast, with every available celebrity splashing around in vintage wine."

INSTEAD OF LOUD and unseemly rejoicing on Armistice Day, the Institute for Public Service suggests religious services in homes, schools, churches, and stock exchanges. "What better stand," it asks, "against the bruit in man, totalitarianism, regimentation, mob leadership, mob noise, and mob failure to think?" Mob spelling, too.

A TRAVELER from the East brings tidings that a special mass was held in the cathedral at Rabat, capital of French Morocco, for Philippe Henriot, Vichy Minister of Propaganda, who was killed by French patriots in Paris a few months back. The priest who officiated was later arrested by the provisional government.

COLONEL McCORMICK'S Chicago *Tribune* is no longer "The World's Greatest Newspaper." Its front page now proclaims it merely "An American Paper for Americans."

FESTUNG EUROPA: The Nazis have forbidden a Danish circus performer to appear any more, because he introduced what he called "a new war dance." It consisted of one step forward and two backward. . . . A Nazi paper in Prague explains the military situation thus: "Soviet army movements, including those of an active nature, are determined beforehand by the German initiative."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*]

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Watch the West Coast

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

NO AREA of the nation has felt the economic impact of the war so intensely as the west coast. In the words of Robert Elliott, financial editor of the San Francisco *News*, "War has revolutionized the West from an economy of agriculture, mining, forestry, shipping, and the colonial status of being a branch office of the East into a full-fledged industrial age." Industrial growth has been accelerated twenty years, and in some fields as much as fifty years, ahead of normal expectations. Although California alone has received two-thirds of all war contracts placed in the eleven western states since June 1, 1940, relatively speaking the impact of the war has been greatest in the Northwest. At the end of August, 1941, the proportion of prime military contracts to the value of manufactured products in 1939, in the Puget Sound area, was five times greater than that for the United States as a whole. It was approximately twice as great as for Los Angeles and four times higher than for San Francisco.

A spectacular population increase has accompanied the west coast's industrial revolution. The Portland metropolitan area shows a 31 per cent increase in population since 1940; the Seattle area shows an increase in population for the same period of 200,000; and an estimated 1,500,000 people have entered California since 1940. Since most industrial activity on the west coast is confined to the manufacture of aircraft and the construction of ships, sharp curtailment of employment is threatened in the post-war period. With a population increase of 14 per cent, California, for example, faces the problem of shifting 1,500,000 workers from war activities to civilian jobs after the war.

The war in Europe, it is generally assumed, will be over long before hostilities cease in the Far East, and as a result, some authorities believe, war activities will increasingly shift to the west coast. But even if this assumption proves correct and the Pacific states enjoy a prolonged war boom, that very fact would probably also mean a head start for the East and Middle West in industrial reconversion and the mad scramble for post-war consumer markets.

So great is the potential employment problem on the west coast that a maximum public works program would prove only a temporary stop-gap. Agriculture, even in the Northwest, can be expected to absorb only a small part of the enlarged population. Full industrial employment, approximating present levels of production, is essential for the maintenance of the west coast's inflated economy. On paper, the industrial prospects are exciting. For the first time, the west coast has a nascent steel industry; it has aluminum mills and magnesium plants. It has vast manpower and natural resources and great reserves of hydroelectric power. A recent study by the Bonneville Power Administration has charted these possibilities in the most convincing manner. The main problem, however, is not likely to be technical, but rather psychological and political.

Not all elements on the west coast are in an expansionist frame of mind. Important segments of the population are, in fact, reacting in a purely defensive manner toward the wartime boom. A sharp cleavage has already developed, in many areas, between migrant defense workers and settled residents who offer a form of passive resistance to the integration of the newcomers into the established pattern of community life.

One of the main factors preventing integration is the character of the housing available to most migrants. Many of the public housing projects are located on the most unpromising sites and the bulk of the shelter offered is in demountable or temporary buildings. In Portland only 458 out of 18,578 defense housing units are permanent dwellings. Of all the mushroom cities, doomed at birth to a derelict's grave, Vanport, today the second largest city in Oregon, is the most fantastic. In the words of a local housing official, it has everything that a city of comparable size should have—except a future. The residents of Vanport don't "belong." Bus drivers who take high-school youngsters to the Portland schools report that the children frequently ask to be let off before the bus reaches the school. They don't want to be identified as "Vanporters."

As for political integration, recent primary statistics are eloquent. Despite a liberal six months' residence requirement, only 1,300 citizens of Vanport (population 35,000) registered; only 179 actually voted. Nor have the industrial migrants to the Northwest become integrated industrially or socially. In the recent election of officers for the Boilermakers' Union, Portland local, 3,000 out of 45,000 members cast ballots. Approximately 75 per cent of the 100,000 shipyard workers in the Portland area have failed to affiliate with churches, lodges, or other social organizations.

One section of the community, however, has welcomed the migrant war workers—the local merchants, who have been enjoying a glorious boom. In the first ten months of 1941, new car registrations in Seattle were

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50 per cent above 1940. The total value of building permits doubled; real estate transfers increased by 30 per cent; payrolls by nearly 50 per cent; sales of independent retailers and department stores by 30 per cent. Taking cognizance of the slight exodus of war workers since January 1, 1944, local businesses with a "vested interest" in the defense boom have begun to run full-page advertisements pleading with war workers to "stay on the job." Stores promise that they will provide extra-hour services to accommodate war workers, and local morticians announce that they will be delighted to arrange "distant burials" by wire. Other voices, however, constantly remind the war-workers that they are expected to vanish the moment the war is over. It is this curiously ambivalent attitude that is creating a unique post-war political situation.

Recently Portland employed Robert Moses, New York Park Commissioner, and his associates, to prepare a post-war public-works plan for the area. In his introduction to the report (released in November, 1943), Mr. Moses points out that there are two widely divergent points of view in the community: one group deeply desires and confidently expects that the war migrants will leave; the other group—made up of those having a "vested interest" in the boom—would like to feel that most of the migrants can be absorbed. The Moses Plan calls for a post-war public-works program involving the employment of 20,000 workers, on a two-year schedule of construction, at an estimated cost of $60,000,000 (premised upon federal aid). The report is quite specific on the point that such a program represents the maximum that the community can afford. If Portland therefore is to be solely dependent on public works to absorb its surplus war labor, there will be approximately 120,000 migrants unprovided for. It cannot be assumed, however, that these people will obligingly disappear.

The bulk of the white war migrants to the northwest defense communities, 64 per cent in fact, come from other areas of Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and Montana; the secondary recruitment area embraces the intermountain states and the Great Plains. The typical white defense migrant is a young man, twenty-five years of age or younger, married, from a small town or rural area in the Pacific Northwest, anxious to settle in the area, and primarily interested in industrial employment in the post-war period. A study made recently in the Kaiser yards in Portland indicates that only 23.6 per cent of the migrants expressed a definite intention to leave after the war; that only a very few have maintained economic ties elsewhere or have jobs to which they might return; that a considerable number have purchased property in the area; that a majority have their families with them; and that 86 per cent must find new employment immediately after their present employment terminates. In the Lockheed plant in Los Angeles, 89 per cent of the workers want to remain in the area after the war. The whole history of westward migration would indicate that less than 25 per cent of the migrant workers will leave. A moment's reflection is sufficient to indicate the accuracy of Dr. Clark Kerr's observation that "the great migration cannot reverse itself in exact pattern, and even if it did its effects on the local communities would not disappear."

"Thousands of persons," writes Dr. Kerr, "will be desirous of maintaining the large labor force and the large population. Many of the new workers themselves will have seniority rights, homes and furniture, friends or relatives living on the locality. The trade unions will be anxious to maintain their enlarged memberships. Local governments will have built sewers and streets, and provided transportation and hospital facilities, on the assumption of an increased population and the revenues deriving from it. Houses and apartments will have been built, boarding houses established, and land values raised, and stores, theaters, and churches opened or enlarged. Pressures will be exerted to maintain the expanded population, and to maintain it in full employment. If this proves impossible, the war-plant workers may become unwelcome residents."

Political issues of the first importance are implicit in this general situation. Largely due to prior mass migrations, the west coast has a tradition of militant protest movements in which newcomers, lining up with elements of the settled population, have forced changes in the social structure. Seattle had its general strike after the First World War; Oregon has been a stronghold of the pension movements; and California witnessed three spectacular mass movements in a decade—the Epic movement of 1934, the pension plan movements, and the Olson popular-front campaign of 1938. The failure to integrate migrants into the established community patterns during the war merely means that these same migrants will be more readily disposed to follow an aggressive, expansionist leadership in the post-war period. Already a tentative alliance has been formed between war migrants, the trade unions, and the "vested interest" elements, in opposition to the old-guard forces, in a fight over the retention of the region's newly acquired industrial status.

A sharp increase in regional consciousness is one pointer to the way in which the lines are being drawn for the struggle. Despite much talk in prior decades about regional interests, extremely little interstate solidarity developed on the west coast. But mass migration and rapid industrialization have confronted the three west coast states with an identical problem which varies only in degree from area to area. As a consequence, there is much talk of late about "regional economic self-sufficiency." "California and the whole West still are a colony of the East," complains Dr. R. L. McClung of the Uni-

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versity of Southern California. "The West," according to Senator Pat McCarran, "has been largely a stepchild of the East, penalized by heavy freight charges—our resources shipped East to be sent back as finished goods." Familiar fallacies are beginning to echo in the west coast press: "Why should we pay freight on tires manufactured in Akron? On automobiles manufactured in Detroit?" Not infrequently this talk takes the form of an advocacy of some type of protection for west coast industry—the usual concomitant of self-sufficiency arguments.

It is already apparent that national economic considerations will not dictate the final decision, for a strictly political approach to the problem has been clearly outlined. With a large proportion of the nation's newly acquired government plant in the area, the west coast realizes that eastern and middle-western interests will make a concerted effort to scuttle this plant or to minimize its productive potential in the post-war period. To offset this ultramontane sabotage, the west coast has only one weapon: organized political action; today the most politically diverse personalities are strongly supporting proposals for a "Western States Political Conference."

Speaking in San Francisco recently, Senator Pat McCarran voiced what is already the dominant political idea on the west coast. "The problem of post-war industrialization cannot," he said, "be dealt with on a state basis. The West's twenty-two Senators belong to different parties. But they can unite upon this issue."

Attorney-General Robert W. Kenny—the outstanding personality in California politics today—is already building inter-party political fences in the western states. He speaks for Utah, intercedes for Arizona, and has shown a lively interest in Oregon and Washington. Recently the California legislature went to bat in support of an integrated steel industry for Geneva, Utah—an exhibition of western solidarity that would have been unthinkable prior to 1940. The logic of the situation calls for a western bloc in Congress and even, perhaps, for a new political party—a Party of the Pacific sensitive to the peculiar economic interests of the West.

Already the ideological basis for such a party has been partially formulated by Howard Costigan. According to this ideology, national politics have always been dominated by that section of the nation which, at the time, had the most to offer the nation. In the past this sectional dominance shifted from the South to the North; it must now shift to the West. Partisan politics, as such, have little meaning on the west coast. California, for example, is a state of wide-open political opportunism, so-called personality politics, and straight political merchandising. Not only is the West readily disposed to break away from the established parties, but it can provide the necessary dynamics for a new political movement in America, because, so the argument runs, its immediate interests coincide with our real national interests in the post-war period.

By way of illustration: the public ownership of power and water resources has become the major premise for the expansion of the economy of the west coast. Even elements in banking and financial circles on the west coast have come to realize that "cheap power," which is another way of saying "government ownership," offers the main hope for the survival of the West as an industrial area. In order to exploit its natural resources, particularly in the light-metals field, and to utilize its new and relatively more efficient industrial plant, the West will be forced into the position of opposing certain private monopolies, notably the Alcoa aluminum monopoly. To battle this and other monopolies effectively, the West must have a major voice in national politics, otherwise exploitation of its resources may be retarded for years. The West cannot adhere to the states' rights philosophy, since it is vitally dependent upon federal aid and must rely upon extensive federal intervention. Thus the West has a number of important planks to offer the nation in its bid for national political leadership: advocacy of public ownership of power, water, and other (particularly forest) resources; a philosophy of extended federal intervention in promoting economic activity; and a belief in the necessity of utilizing federally-sponsored projects, such as Bonneville, as a means of combatting private monopoly.

More important than these considerations, however, is the fact that the economic future of the west coast lies, to a large extent, in the Pacific. Speaking in Seattle on July 9, 1944, after his return from China, Mr. Wallace declared that a new North Pacific world has already begun to assume tangible form. He pointed to the Pacific Northwest states and the Amur River region in Soviet Asia as related phases of the same development.

Residents of the Northwest are already keenly interested in the revival of Harriman's great proposal: for a rail line from Seattle to Alaska and a rail route to Asia from Alaska by tunneling the Bering Straits. However much this enthusiasm is discounted, the political possibilities of such an expansionist program remain. The growing regional consciousness of the area, the repeated complaints about "the underdog West," and the possibilities that unquestionably exist in the Pacific, all suggest that the West is destined to make a strong bid for national political leadership in the post-war period. The westward shift of population merely adds weight to the threat of a western bloc in Congress; in fact, the West probably holds the balance of political power today. If middle-western isolationist elements continue to dominate the Republican Party and if the southern bloc continues to exercise a veto power over the Democratic Party, then far western leadership may, indeed, have much to offer the nation.

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Polls, Propaganda, and Politics

Predicting Doubtful States

TWENTY-SEVEN of the forty-eight states can be put on ice, so far as the November election is concerned. Six, with thirty electoral votes, were consistently and safely Republican in the elections of 1940 and 1942 as well as in all the polls of 1940 and 1944. Twenty-one states with 208 electoral votes are safely in the Democratic column. The battle rages over the remaining twenty-one states, where Roosevelt must collect at least fifty-eight more votes to win.

The American Institute of Public Opinion has now (August 23) released estimates on these twenty-one doubtful states. It qualifies its poll report in two ways—first, this is the *present* picture, which may change by November; second, this is the *civilian* vote, no soldiers included. Gallup now distributes our twenty-one doubtful states as follows:

	No. of States	*No. of Electoral Votes*
"Safely Republican" (54 per cent or more)	8	116
"Leaning Republican" (51 to 53 per cent)	6	99
"Leaning Democratic" (51 to 53 per cent)	7	78
"Safety Democratic" (54 per cent or more)	0	0
	21	293

Gallup thus gives most of the doubtful states to Dewey. For the country as a whole, however, he predicts 286 electoral votes for Roosevelt and 245 for Dewey.

Suppose we go back four years and look at Gallup's record for these same twenty-one doubtful states. We find that his August, 1940, poll classified seven of these states (Connecticut, Delaware, Idaho, Missouri, Oregon, Wyoming, and West Virginia) as leaning Democratic and *all* went Democratic in that November election. Of the fourteen doubtful states which looked Republican to Gallup in August, 1940, only three (Indiana, Iowa, Michigan) gave their electoral votes to Willkie. There were thus *eleven* of our doubtful states which in August before the last Presidential election were listed as Republican on the basis of the Gallup poll, but which voted Democratic in November. The following table gives more details.

GALLUP ERRORS OF 1940

	1940 Predictions				*Prediction*
State	*Aug. 25,'40*	*Sep. 20,'40*	*Nov. 3,'40*	*1940 Vote*	*Aug.' 44*
Colorado	53% *Rep.*	52% Rep.	55% Rep.	51% *Dem.*	55% Rep.
Illinois	57% *Rep.*	53% Dem.	52% Rep.	51% *Dem.*	54% Rep.
Massachusetts	55% *Rep.*	51% Rep.	51% Dem.	54% *Dem.*	52% Dem.
Minnesota	55% *Rep.*	51% Dem.	52% Rep.	52% *Dem.*	53% Rep.
New Hampshire	57% *Rep.*	51% Rep.	51% Rep.	53% *Dem.*	51% Dem.
New Jersey	51% *Rep.*	52% Dem.	52% Dem.	52% *Dem.*	51% Rep.
New York	52% *Rep.*	52% Dem.	51% Dem.	52% *Dem.*	52% Rep.
Ohio	55% *Rep.*	53% Dem.	51% Rep.	52% *Dem.*	54% Rep.
Pennsylvania	51% *Rep.*	52% Dem.	51% Rep.	53% *Dem.*	52% Dem.
Rhode Island	51% *Rep.*	56% Dem.	54% Dem.	57% *Dem.*	51% Dem.
Wisconsin	51% *Rep.*	51% Dem.	52% Rep.	51% *Dem.*	56% Rep.

Two facts stand out. One is the difficulty of predicting from polls when the margins are less than 5 per cent; the other is that in 1940 Gallup's constant error was to assign too large a percentage to the Republicans. The errors were usually larger than the margin now attributed to Dewey. Whether in 1944 he has corrected these errors or is repeating them, only time will show. But the August poll of 1944 looks surprisingly like the reports in August, 1940.

If we could assume that poll history is repeating itself and that the Gallup state-by-state poll now errs in each doubtful state by the same amount that it did in August, 1940, the present picture would have to be corrected to show Dewey carrying only eight states with forty-eight electoral votes, while Roosevelt would have forty states and 483 electoral votes. This is probably an over-correction, for Gallup has undoubtedly taken steps to correct or allow for some of his errors of 1940. The most reasonable August estimate of Roosevelt electors would lie somewhere between the current Gallup estimate of 286 (note that 266 are necessary for election) and the probably over-corrected estimate of 483. But, as Gallup points out, the situation itself may change between August and November.

75 Years Ago in "The Nation"

THE SUBJECT of removing the federal Capital to some place in the West is undergoing vigorous agitation, St. Louis being at present the principal competitor for the honor of succeeding Washington. There is really only one objection to the scheme, or rather only one thing to be said in favor of Washington, and that is, that the expense of removal would be enormous, owing to the abandonment of the Government buildings. . . . But the Capital ought undoubtedly to be a real city, having a life of its own; and we venture to say, at the risk of making Westerners laugh, that the federal government would gain more and do more good by moving to New York than to any other place.—*September 2, 1869.*

WE FEAR that the tribulation through which Spain must pass to her political salvation has but begun, and that the man who is to guide her out of it has not yet appeared. It is not likely that in Spain, or elsewhere, the Coming Man will arise from among the Pretenders to Crowns, even where crowns are still believed to be essential elements of public welfare. They belong of necessity to the past, and their eyes naturally turn backward rather than forward.—*September 9, 1869.*

THE CAUSE of female education is making progress in some odd places. A female normal school has been established at Poona, in India, and one of the English ladies taken out by Miss Carpenter takes charge of it. Moreover—and this is far more wonderful—two Bengalee ladies of good family have applied for admission to the Calcutta University. When this spirit begins to show itself among even Hindoo women, we may feel sure that the days of tyrant man's dominion are nearly numbered, and that he will before long assume his proper place in the creation he has done so much to deface.—*September 16, 1869.*

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Paris Rises

IF JUSTIFICATION were ever needed for the theories of political war put forward in this section, it has been provided in overwhelming measure by the people of Paris. The fact that the city was freed by the people—the liberation forces supported by the unarmed population—makes this battle the greatest political victory of the war. Its meaning, its influence, will grow with every day that passes. It will inflame the peoples of Europe from Spain to the Balkans. It will give them not only hope but strength—and confidence in their strength. The hour that saw the Nazi troops and Hitler's armed terrorists scuttle out of Paris proclaimed the certain annihilation of every fascist power in Europe. And it should serve as a warning that just as the people resisted the foreign invader so will they resist, and defeat, any attempt to wrest from them the full reward of their fight—a people's peace and a government purged of every trace of anti-democratic poison.—J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO.

Way Out for the Balkans

BY BOGDAN RADITSA

THE long, dark Balkan night is over. With Rumania turning its guns on its former ally, with Bulgaria edging toward the same decision, with the Hungarian government tottering on its unstable foundations, the inevitable disintegration of Hitler's system of ersatz governments has begun. The meeting in Rome between Churchill and Marshal Tito, in the presence of Yugoslav Premier Subasich, presages a new and decisive blow to the Nazi military machine. And throughout the Balkans, Partisans and patriots form a chain which links the Allied armies of the east and west and speeds the day of liberation.

During this war, military and political developments in the Balkans have differed from those in France and Italy. The Balkan resistance forces have liberated substantial areas of their countries without the immediate presence of Allied armies, and the basis of popular democratic government has been laid without the aid of Allied military authorities. The tragic dilemma of the Italian government, paralyzed by the Allied Control Commission, has not been repeated in the Balkans.

In order to understand what is happening in the Balkans today, we must glance at pre-war conditions. The Balkans were not the "powder-keg of Europe" before this war, despite Mussolini's efforts to make them appear so. The assassination of King Alexander of Yugoslavia in Marseilles in 1934, done at Mussolini's behest by his Ustachi and Macedonian agents, failed to set off the explosion that had been expected, but it marked the end of Franco-British influence in the Balkans. King Alexander's death caused a swing from the previous policy of friendship toward France to one of ostensible neutrality, and it was this policy that ended, inevitably, in the bitter disillusionment of war.

Alexander's foreign policy had been based on French and British friendship, reinforced by the Little Entente and the Balkan Pact negotiated early in 1934. The absence of Bulgaria was a constant threat to this system of alliances, and Alexander had done his best to persuade Bulgaria to join the pact. His policy was sound and was supported by Titulescu in Rumania and by Benes in Czechoslovakia. But neither King Alexander nor Titulescu understood that even a sound foreign policy can function effectively only if it is backed by a healthy internal situation. They did little to foster that.

Prince Paul of Yugoslavia, Regent after the death of King Alexander until young King Peter II came of age, believed that France was doomed and that Chamberlain's England would always find a *modus vivendi* with Hitler. Slowly he disassociated Yugoslavia from the Little and Balkan ententes and established the policy of neutrality.

Greece's King George and General Metaxas, together with Prince Paul and King Carol of Rumania, formed a sort of Balkan Holy Alliance and decided to save themselves and the so-called independence of their countries by making concessions to the Italians and Germans. They had all been badly frightened by the popular tendencies awakened by the Spanish war. The attitude of London and Paris toward the Loyalist government in Spain encouraged them to believe that France and Great

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Britain would compromise indefinitely with fascism. Munich further reassured them along this line. Their hope was to convince the governments at London and Paris that the Balkan states wanted to remain neutral but that, if necessary, they would stand on the side of the Allies in the end. At the same time, they let Hitler know that, though their desire was to remain neutral, they would support Axis policy in Europe in such a way as to harm neither themselves nor Axis plans. The coming of war shattered this fantastic illusion.

King Carol was forced to flee Rumania when the Russians took Bessarabia. King Zog of Albania, who had lost all but nominal freedom through his fatal deal with Mussolini in 1927, had to abandon his country when the Italian army invaded it on Good Friday, April 7, 1939. Shortly afterward, King George and Metaxas faced Mussolini's troops on the Greek frontier, having been driven by the indomitable will of the Greek people to defend their country.

Regent Paul of Yugoslavia could have gone to the help of Greece. The Yugoslav people would have accepted such a decision with enthusiasm, for Greece had always been considered an ally. But Paul did not choose to fight. He fancied himself a latter-day Machiavelli, never understanding that the people of Yugoslavia were not so unprincipled as he in their view of international affairs. When, in March, 1941, Paul's government signed the Tripartite Pact with the Axis, the government and the Regent were overthrown by a burst of popular resentment. The revolution of March 27, 1941, expressed the true feeling of the Yugoslav nation.

After the military conquest of Greece and Yugoslavia, the Axis policy was to reward its satellites. Hungary and Bulgaria took a hand in the dismemberment of Yugoslavia and Greece. As the Yugoslav and Greek people from the beginning had comprised the most vigorous stronghold against Italian and German infiltration, the Axis decided they must be annihilated through massacre and starvation. But the masses defeated the Axis plans.

The National Liberation Movement in Yugoslavia was started by ragged and dispersed bands which were determined to fight fascism to the death. What Tito has done in Yugoslavia symbolizes the moral and political regeneration of the popular masses throughout the Balkan region. For each of the Balkan peoples, and particularly for the South Slavs, the liberation movement represents the beginning of the truly national thought and action. Until now, the Balkan peoples have been no more than a mirror of what was going on in Western or in Central Europe. Today they feel they are, if not at the center of a democratic European revolution, then very close to the center.

The Communists in the Balkans were the chief initiators of the popular movement but the democratic elements of all classes, all religions, and all political affiliations have taken part. This union succeeded because it was agreed from the beginning that each country, once it was liberated, would be built upon the foundations of a full federal democracy. Economically, the key to a durable social and political order in the Balkans lies in combining a collectivist program of industrialization with the peasant program of land reform and the encouragement of individual small farms. Such reform is a prerequisite to all schemes for the political regeneration of the Balkans; and it is certain that in this field peasant and workers' leaders, and not reactionary generals like Mihailovich and Zervas, will have the last word.

Mihailovich and Zervas are the last representatives of the petty nationalism and imperialism which characterized the Balkan governments before and during the war of 1912-13. This policy resulted in the creation of small sovereign states, each of which sought to dominate its neighbors, and effectively frustrated Balkan unity. The governments were centralistic, in the hands of one party, and backed by the court, the army, the bureaucracy, and, in some cases, the church. Through the maneuvers of the great powers, which incited one party against another, one country against another, and the rulers against the people, the Balkans became a stormy area. Peace depended upon the inclinations of the Austro-Hungarian, Ottoman, or Russian empires, and later upon those of France or Great Britain, Germany or Italy.

The situation was complicated by the fact that the monarchies in the Balkans were at best only quasi-legitimate. The constitution, as a rule, was granted as a gift of the crown to the people. Very seldom was it a partnership agreement. Every Balkan politician knew that his career depended not upon the desires of the people but on his success in satisfying the financial and political demands of one or another of the big powers. This political outlook encouraged centralism and the domination of reactionary, corrupt cliques. It encouraged the formation of a Great Serbia or a Yugoslavia exclusively Serb-dominated; a Great Hellas, a Great Rumania, and a Great Bulgaria.

Today the disciples of this theory ask for the creation of a new Balkan axis: Athens-Belgrade. They seek a Greater Serbian state, allied with a Greater Greece, which, together, would dominate the Balkans as a whole. Their Croat and Slovene counterpart in the north is trying to prepare an anti-Russian axis—the so-called Catholic Confederation. The alternative to this dangerous plan is a democratic Balkan federation, the outlines of which are even now emerging.

What is the "way out" for the Balkans? When the Red Army crossed the Prut River, Molotov issued a note promising to preserve the status quo. This meant that Russia does not consider the Balkans its preserve, as anti-Russian propagandists have insinuated. Subsequently the agreement between King Peter and Tito was reached.

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After their conversations, Mr. Subasich, the new Yugoslav Premier, declared that Tito had said that he did not want communism or revolution, but real democracy such as Yugoslavia and the Balkans have never known before. Tito's stated goal is the unity of all South Slavs in an "independent, democratic federation."

Therefore, there are two possibilities for a post-war organization of the Balkans: (1) South Slav federation comprising Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, running from the Adriatic to the Black Sea; (2) Balkan federation composed of Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Greece, Rumania, and Albania, which was recommended by democrats and liberals at the Balkan conference in 1929. From the point of view of a broader European solution, and because a unilateral South Slav bloc might put the non-Slavic nations of the Balkans in a position of self-defense and fear, the second may be the more desirable.

If the great powers will allow the Balkan peoples to settle their own destiny, the democratic forces, now united in the liberation movement, can realize the federalization, and consequently the democratization, of the Balkan region. The Balkan states can become an interdependent community of sovereign and equal nations on the economic, political, and cultural levels. Naturally, the success of this solution will depend upon the nature of Europe as a whole. A Europe of interdependent states offers the only safe basis for a federal solution in the Balkans. The decision rests largely with those great powers which in the past have manipulated Balkan affairs to suit their own interests. If they fail to achieve a secure union of European states and seek instead to mark out areas of special interest; if they impose governments made up of their own reactionary tools, they will produce only revolutions and new wars. The time has come to let the peoples work out their own destiny.

Vargas on the Defensive

WHILE the Vargas dictatorship felt secure, it encouraged a few "liberals" to enter the government. They provided a front, useful for propaganda and as a link with Brazil's democratic Allies. The most effective of all these was Oswaldo Aranha, the Foreign Minister since 1938. Aranha is a person of questionable integrity but at least he is not fascist, at least he is pro-United States and pro-Ally. He is much liked in Washington and by many Americans was considered a guaranty of the good faith of the dictatorship he served. Now Aranha has resigned his post and his resignation has been accepted by Vargas. The fact itself is sensational enough to set off rumors, and the lack of straight news from well-censored Rio has contributed to the confusion which word of his resignation produced.

Is Brazil going the way of Argentina? Will it swing away from the United States and the United Nations? What led up to the crisis?

Some of the answers to these questions appeared in an article in this section published on February 26. It gave the background of growing discontent out of which the present situation developed. Readers will do well to review the facts in that story. But later events throw even more light on today's news from Rio.

The Vargas dictatorship no longer feels strong enough to allow popular demonstrations in favor of democracy, or tolerate "liberals" in its ranks. The coming defeat of Hitler, the rebellions in half a dozen smaller Latin American states, and the unrest in Brazil itself among formerly conservative groups—all these combined to warn Vargas and his gang that their power rested on shaky ground. And no better evidence could be found than the fact that Aranha, loyal to his chief as long as the regime was secure, had agreed to accept the vice-presidency of the Society of the Friends of America. This group, composed of distinguished citizens—with our Ambassador Caffery as its honorary president—is devoted chiefly to promoting friendship with the United States. But it is looked upon as pro-democratic, too, and so, naturally, dangerous. Aranha must have known that he was challenging the goverment's position, must have been prepared to resign if Vargas got nasty. Vargas did get nasty. His Chief of Police, the pro-Nazi Coriolanos de Goes, padlocked the quarters of the society before Aranha could make his appearance at a meeting in his honor. Forced to choose, Vargas chose to lose his useful Foreign Minister, rather than side with the liberals. But Aranha's act, since he is not a man of principle, is striking proof that the regime is not as tough as its behavior.

Other examples can be given of its defensive mechanism at work: Recently some young people in the state of Ceara organized a group to collect "scrap" for the war effort. They were not Communists but they named their group "Stalingrad" in honor of the greatest collective community effort on record in this war. They made speeches of a liberal nature, praising the democracies and urging the people to contribute to the scrap pile. The movement was suppressed by the federal police, several of the boys were arrested, and their leader was sentenced to five years in prison.

In his earlier mood, Vargas appointed a rather decent, moderate man, Colonel Nelson de Mello, Chief of Police. Recently this official was fired. His job was given to Coriolanos de Goes, who had previously held the post but had been dropped because of public indignation over the machine-gunning of a demonstration of law students in Sao Paulo last November. (This story is told in *The Nation* article of February 26.) De Goes took as his assistant a military man known as a terrorist and fascist. These men are now in power, providing the worried Vargas with an efficient Gestapo set-up.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

The Faith of Aldous Huxley

IT IS pleasant to be able to report that for more than a third of its way Aldous Huxley's new novel, "Time Must Have a Stop" (Harper's, $2.75), is wonderful serious comedy—the liveliest, wittiest writing Huxley has done since "Antic Hay." But in Chapter XII the book swerves off its worldly course to become the argument for religious faith that we have learned to expect from a Huxley novel. Huxley has just snuffed out the life of his sybaritic Eustace Barnack in such a scene as might have been dreamed up by the Church fathers. It was Eustace's sin to love Degas, cigars, and women more than he loved God, therefore he must die alone and whimpering on the bathroom floor and be followed through his protracted struggle against merging with the divine light. Not that Huxley completely leaves his humor this side of the grave: even after Eustace's death, "Time Must Have a Stop" has some fine comic moments—the seances, for instance, with the medium who is so illiterate that she ludicrously garbles her ghostly messages. But despite these sops to the faithless, it is deeply disappointing to have once again been promised the consummation of Huxley's art and be given, instead, the consummation of his religion.

Of course, even by those who reject his religious conclusions, Huxley might well be studied as a moralist of contemporary life. In a period in which one often has the impression that man's whole responsibility in the world begins and ends at the polling booth, and in a culture which considers political action the cure for all diseases, Huxley dares to call a plague on all political houses and to speak of action as a self-deception and an evil. He has the courage to override all our current easy humanitarianisms. The trouble is, however, that in rejecting humanitarianism, Huxley rejects humanity. He is unable to believe that good can reside within the framework of flesh and desire.

Huxley's distaste for the human body is not a recent development, nor is it even more exacerbated today than it was in his earliest work. Now that he has taken a formal religious position, we can perhaps see more clearly than we could before that, basic to whatever other antitheses he may have suggested in his books, there was the antithesis between purity and sex. But long before Huxley openly celebrated, as he does now, the advantages of celibacy, he thought of love as lust; long before he began to move so comfortably among the dead, he saw a connection between sex and death. The instances in proof that for Huxley sexuality has always been heartless, cruel, selfish, a signpost to decay, and a reminder of mortality can be multiplied endlessly: in "Eyeless in Gaza," a scene of love is spattered with the blood of a smashed dog; in "After Many a Summer Dies the Swan," intercourse is described as a fatal seizure, an epilepsy; and in every novel there has been the counterpart of the Mrs. Thwale of "Time Must Have a Stop" whose rationalistic intelligence is wholly at the service of a destroying sensuality. If, in view of so strong a bias against sexuality, there may be a certain irony in the literary uses that Huxley has made of the charms of lubricity, there should be neither irony nor surprise that his sexual disgust has finally led him to mysticism.

Ordinarily it is off the main path of criticism to trace the subjective psychological pattern of a novelist. But in Huxley's case it is unavoidable: the pattern not only repeats itself so often, but ultimately determines the cosmic order that Huxley propagandizes. In each of his last three novels, Huxley opposes a single pure spirit to the awful run of humanity; in "Time Must Have a Stop" the pure spirit is one Bruno, an Italian bookseller. Although superficially these Huxleyan saints present certain human variations, they are essentially the same person. Each of them is an older man, wise and tolerant, gentle but firm, knowing his way in the world but immune to the demands of the world—in other words, a perfect representation of the father-person, the Oedipal ideal. And in each of the novels, it is the function of this everlasting father to undertake, in the humanness of his divinity, the education of the everlasting son. The Huxleyan sons, too, are cut pretty much from one cloth. Sebastian of "Time Must Have a Stop" is the present-day descendant of Philip Quarles of "Point Counter Point"; he is the most recent of the long line of gifted young men who wander through Huxley's novels trying to cope with their lack of connection with other human beings. We have, then, the father and the son; all that is missing from this familial Eden is the mother. But the mother, being always Eve, would enter Paradise only to turn it into an earthly shambles.

For it is the significant point about Huxley's father-people that they are always conspicuously unattached to any mother-people. Huxley has yet to imagine the female saint, or, for that matter, the woman who would not destroy the saintliness of any man. In "Time Must Have a Stop" he makes rather more explicit than he ever has before the revulsion from maternal sexuality that underlies the inability of his young men to love; only seventeen at the start of the book, Sebastian can still be exposed to what Huxley calls maternal lust, and Huxley has the boy violently repelled by the maternal overtures of a middle-aged lady of his acquaintance. He also describes the boy's dead mother as having been a modern Caroline Lamb to whom Sebastian, in early childhood, bore a "frightening" resemblance, which he fortunately outgrew under the influence of the saintly Bruno. But grown to manhood, Sebastian is shown to have been unsuccessful in his marriage, to have resisted all possibility of re-marriage after the death of his wife, to have never been in love, and to have had his only continuing sexual relationship with the sadistic Mrs. Thwale. Neither Sebastian himself, nor Huxley, is troubled by this incapacity for ordinary affection. Yet it is Sebastian who, at the end of the book, is the vessel of Huxley's ideas about the new love that will save the world.

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That the world needs saving there can certainly be no doubt—especially the world which Huxley pictures so brilliantly at the close of "Time Must Have a Stop." The novel ends with an epilogue; it is 1944 and the war is drawing to its chaotic close. Just as there is no easy humanitarianism in Huxley's solutions, there is no easy optimism in his vision of mankind's future; in fact, he rubs our noses in the ever-mounting dirt of our civilization. It is a salutary activity; the lamented Huxleyan pessimism seems to me to be both a lot more searching and a lot more revealing than most of our "healthy" political thinking. Unable to see any end, national or even international, to national squabbles, Huxley pins his hope on the individuals who make up nations—on the "one chance in a million" that the infection of religion "might spread so far that the people with the big battalions would actually not wish to use them." It is a weak hope, admittedly; yet it is not because of the long chance that one refuses the gamble. Indeed, it is almost in the measure that one agrees with Huxley that only by some renovation of the spirit will the world find salvation that one rejects his spirit which denies body, that one refuses his divine love which arises out of a deficiency of human love.

DIANA TRILLING

John L.

LABOR BARON: A PORTRAIT OF JOHN L. LEWIS. By James A. Wechsler. William Morrow and Co. $3.00.

"LABOR BARON" is an attempt to explain the career of the most formidable labor leader of our time in terms of a feeling of insecurity and lust for power. Swiftly sketching his early life, the author plunges into a description of Lewis's career in the labor movement. Although most of the material is by now familiar, it is interestingly and vigorously presented. The picture that emerges is of a blind giant motivated by a restless drive for power, a skilful and adroit negotiator, a daring organizer, a man of considerable personal charm and attractiveness, and a brooding, lonesome figure with self-aggrandizement as his one certain goal.

Lewis's rise to power in his own union, his bitter quarrels and his victory over his opponents, and the decay of his organization in the 1920's are described. Seizing the opportunity offered by a pro-labor Roosevelt Administration, Lewis succeeded in bringing the entire bituminous coal industry under the union banner, a feat none of his predecessors had been able to accomplish. While Wechsler devotes too little space to this achievement, he describes in more detail the events which led to the formation of the CIO, and its dramatic victories in the citadels of open-shop industry. Lewis's contribution to these victories is recognized, but Wechsler observes that the movement was "no one-man affair." It is of course true that the gains of the CIO were due to the many devoted organizers and rank-and-file workers, but the chief credit must go to Lewis. Without his continued aid and direction the movement might have flickered and died. The crucial needs of the non-union workers were not the reorganization of the structural forms of the American labor movement—although the dispute within the American Federation of Labor centered around this issue—but the furnishing of adequate financial support and leadership for the organizing drives. No other leader of a great union would have gambled with the finances of his organization; none other would have given as freely of his time and talent as did John L. Lewis in the greatest organizing drive in American history. Whatever sins Lewis may have subsequently committed were amply atoned for by his conduct in those great days. Moreover, in the crucial period when Lewis had it within his power to influence the stream of history, he acted to strengthen and to enlarge the organized labor movement. Later he lost his grip, and he became embittered, and out of conviction or pique he parted from his former friends. The chapters dealing with Lewis's relations to Roosevelt, Murray, and his alliance with the Communists are among the most informative and interesting in the book.

Reading the story of Lewis's relation to the Communists, one begins to doubt that Lewis is the powerfully shrewd man pictured by the author. A man of great drive and talent, to be sure, but one who is obviously out of his depth when dealing with a new problem. A shrewd horse trader at the conference table with employers and an autocratic taskmaster in dealing with his subordinates, Lewis was completely "outfoxed" by the Communist brethren. It was the shrewd Lewis who raised many of them to power; it was he who negotiated the first contracts for some of their unions; but it was the Communists who stayed on and maintained control. A less "clever" labor official like Dubinsky would never have invited the Communists into the house of labor, let alone built powerful unions for them to manage.

While the author has assembled much interesting material, the study is not altogether satisfactory, especially the sections dealing with motivation. There is, moreover, too much emphasis upon Lewis's "elaborately furnished house filled with the antiques and carpeted with Persian rugs" and not enough on the meaning of the concentration of power in the hands of autocratic labor leaders. Nor is the attempt to paint Lewis as a unique phenomenon entirely correct. Lewis differs from a number of other labor leaders only in his great drive, daring, and intelligence. Shrinking violets shrink into obscurity, and do not become leaders of unions, industries, or even educational institutions. Nor is the type of autocratic control exercised by Lewis unknown in other sections of the labor movement. Lewis does it more brazenly, but he is by no means the only autocrat. Similarly, Wechsler makes too much of Lewis's lack of philosophy. It may explain the lack of direction of his leadership, but not his abnormal craving for power. The members of the Executive Council of the AFL, the chiefs of the railway brotherhoods, and even the heads of most of the CIO unions are not strong on philosophy.

The most serious defect, to the reviewer, is the failure of the book to examine the institutional conditions which make possible the rise of autocratic labor leaders. It is not enough to have a yen for power, a feeling of insecurity, and great drive. The labor movement and the constituent unions must be so constructed that a power-seeking boss has the opportunity to exploit his ambitions. Wechsler inferentially recognizes this problem at the beginning of the book where he discusses the solitude and special character of miners and

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mining towns. Unfortunately, Wechsler's explanation will not hold water. The United Mine Workers of America was not always a dictatorially-managed union. Nor was it always an isolated segment of labor. For many years it was one of the more democratic organizations, with an active and aggressive socialist faction. Lewis's drive for power undoubtedly helped to undermine the democratic traditions, but the shift of industry and the union to new centers made the task of the dictator easier.

It is evident that the miners' union, like many others, is not organized to resist a resourceful tyrant determined to transform it into a personal barony. A John L. Lewis is unthinkable in the English labor movement. This is no accident. As Wechsler emphasizes, Lewis is the end product of business unionism, business unionism stripped of its last shreds of idealism. There is a vast difference between the business unionism of Gompers and Lewis. For Gompers business unionism was an ideal; a policy under which organized labor could survive and progress. Consequently Gompers always thought in terms of the labor movement, and he avoided any wilful action that would threaten its strength or weaken its position. The newer and less sensitive leaders look upon business unionism as a vehicle for place and preferment. Lewis is unique only because of his great talents, and not because he has no imitators. The ability of a strong individual to transform a democratic union into an engine of personal power shows a serious weakness in the structure of the labor movement, and represents a dangerous threat to society as well.

PHILIP TAFT

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Balkan Memoir

HEADQUARTERS BUDAPEST. By Robert Parker. Farrar and Rinehart. $3.

WHAT one reviewer wrote of an Oppenheim thriller, that it holds up from beginning to end and contains no small amount of sound political theory, can be applied to some of the Balkan memoirs which in recent years have flooded the literary market. It is questionable, however, whether by obliterating the boundary between scoops, beats, and sensational adventures on the one side and serious political information on the other these books really contribute to a better understanding of the problems of Eastern Europe.

Mr. Parker, as a leading correspondent for the Associated Press, covered Hungary and the Balkan countries during the first two years of the war; later he headed the Coordinator's Office and afterward the OWI office in Turkey. He thus had ample opportunity to learn by experience the intricacies of politics and economics in Eastern Europe. His account of German intrigues in Rumania and Turkey is particularly brilliant. No one can question his conclusion that peasant poverty is the outstanding problem of Eastern Europe and that it cannot be solved unless the methods of production are so improved as to make the goods of this region salable in markets other than Germany.

This development, however, is subject to agreement between the United States, Britain, and Russia. Even an isolationist incarnate must share the view of the author that the victors should not impose upon these countries the old discredited regimes or, conversely, take no hand whatsoever in choosing Eastern Europe's governments. Mr. Parker hits the mark when he says that a specific state of mind is the prerequisite of democratic self-government. That entails a big job for the Allies, and Mr. Parker believes that the State Department is not living up to it, but I think it is not exact to identify military expediency with the support given to Admiral Horthy—not by Mr. Hull but J. F. Montgomery, whom Mr. Parker characterizes as the "able American minister in Budapest."

A good many errors have slipped into Mr. Parker's book. It was not General Filipovich who seized Bosnia in 1908 but Count Aehrenthal who annexed it. It was not Horthy and his government which drove "Bela Kun's Communist regime out of the country in 1921"; this regime collapsed on August 1, 1919, under the impact of the Rumanian attack. And it is unlikely that the French minister, De Monzie, "had worked for the destruction of Czechoslovakia because President Benes had once failed to invite him to a cocktail party." Mr. Parker tells us on page 297 that the Balkans are underpopulated, but on page 334 he says that the "outstanding problem of that region is overpopulation." Although the rate of suicides in Budapest was always the highest in Europe, it is an obvious misstatement to say that in the first two months of 1944 nearly 1,500 corpses were fished out of the Danube and that "most had chosen the balcony of Parliament as a jumping-off place"—the quay separating the building from the river is about twenty feet broad.

All these errors, however, are of less moment than the author's attempt to back up the legend that Horthy offered

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resistance to the Nazis. At least that is the impression one gets from his account of an interview he had with the Regent. Horthy told him that after his royal reception by the Führer at Kiel in 1936 they had an argument in the Berlin Chancellery. "So I started screaming myself," the Regent went on, "and I said to him, 'Herr Hitler, I have had enough of this. Please remember I am an admiral of the Austro-Hungarian navy and you are only a corporal. Please remember I am a regent of a nation which has been independent for one thousand years, and you are the Chancellor of the Third Reich which has not lasted four years yet.' " It may be that Nicolas Horthy has become the Hungarian version of Nicolas Chauvin, the braggart Napoleonic soldier, but even if he did flaunt his *esprit d'escalier* to the American journalist, it is hardly likely that the former aide-de-camp of Emperor Francis Joseph would have lost his self-control to the extent of being rude to a host whose favor he had to solicit. But Mr. Parker evidently believed what the Admiral told him; otherwise he would not have written that "in March, 1944, Horthy again visited Hitler . . . and shouted him down." Moreover, while Mr. Parker is very skeptical of what other dictators told him, he believes that Count Bethlen, who during ten years of his premiership did his utmost to thwart every democratic reform, declared to his friend in 1939 that "the continuance of the feudal system convinced him that sooner or later Bolshevistic ideology will again strike root in the nation."

Such flaws are all the more regrettable since in general Mr. Parker's political thinking is perceptive and clear. He has a lively style and weaves many delightful and witty stories into the accounts of his innumerable interviews. The book has the merits of its author; its failings are in part the result of that unfortunate assumption that a hasty journalistic report changes into a book if it is printed in octavo size.

RUSTEM VAMBERY

The Ultimate Fanfare

LITTLE COQUETTE. By Renée de Fontarce McCormick. The Houghton Mifflin Company. $2.75.

TO THOSE weary of plowing through newspaper reports and the continuous flood of second-rate books on war; to the lovers of France, French food, wine, and wit; to those who once knew a world "whose sole concern was pleasure," as well as to those who may insist they are glad they never did—to these this book should be as welcome, in these dry days, as a magnum of Burgundy.

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may make you smile, but at least it is preferable to the usual humorless formula. It has something of the disarming quality of Simone's father, that old roué Count Maxence d'Entrement, a man with no neck, no hair, tremendous physical strength, and a passion for misquoting proverbs. The Count fought seventeen duels, all of which he won. Attacked by a butcher during a strike in Lille, the Count, then a cavalry officer, "drew his saber and cut off the man's nose with a single blow." At home, however, in his chateau near Senlis, there were no quarrels. The only occasion on which he raised his fist at his daughter was when he overheard her humming that "song of assassins and murderers," the "Marseillaise." "More royalist than the King himself," the Count spent "half his life with horses, one quarter with women, and one quarter in sleep." He was reputed to have had more mistresses than any other man in Paris. He had an ingenious way of disposing of them: instead of deserting a woman, he "arranged things in such a way that she would desert him." With one exception, it seems to have succeeded with astonishing ease. The exception was a lady who, after the Countess d'Entrement's death, tried to seduce the Count into marriage. One day he heard that she had been seen in the company of the Duke d'Argoux. The Count promptly departed for England. From there he wrote the lady a letter:

> Bless you for the immense happiness you have given me. I am returning herewith several letters which, now that they are in your possession, make you once more your own mistress. After earnest reflection I have concluded that you could be much happier with the Duke d'Argoux. This explains my present decision to withdraw from your life, with a broken heart.

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ON LIVING IN A REVOLUTION

by Julian Huxley

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HARPER

Such information concerning her parents and others Simone picked up by means of eavesdropping at keyholes and telephones, stealing letters from people's pockets and "going through" her father's mail. For such practices she felt as little guilt as did her father for his numerous infidelities. Miss Hayes, Simone's imperturbable English governess, made a pretense at being scandalized; while the Countess, as in everything else, stuck to her guiding principle: "Let us make as small a scandal as possible."

The Countess was a beautiful, exceedingly selfish woman, who, "frankly infatuated with herself," tried to make her figure conform to the prevailing fashion by "stuffing herself with great quantities of sardines in oil." Children "seemed to her as things to be shown off, like the horses and the chateau." She either paid no attention to her daughter's clothes, or bought her over one hundred dresses in a day. She occupied herself with the household, kept an eye on the food, the flowers, and the servants, never had the remotest idea how much money she had or spent, and entertained lavishly. Dinners, with *double service*, consisted of twenty courses "with a sherbet in the middle." Every year, we are told, the Count had to go off to Marienbad to relieve himself of fifty pounds.

When the Countess died, Simone lived with "three naughty bachelors"—her father; her Uncle Louis, who every now and again, tired of sumptuous living, slipped away to seek the company of cab drivers; M. Ballou, the Count's yes-man; "the only member of the household who had tender feelings;" and, of course, the inevitable Miss Hayes. Simone's life with them was such that when it once occurred to her that she might be deprived of her uncle, she exclaimed in alarm: "Life without my three men and Miss Hayes would be impossible!"

It may seem surprising that an intelligent child brought up in such an atmosphere should have been happy; that the very luxury of her life, the pointlessness of those around her, did not lead to boredom and create in her a reaction against it; that as a woman Mrs. McCormick can write of it with so little criticism and complaint. The chief reason, it seems to me, is that hers was a family without fear; it bore no one any grudge, felt no guilt about its position in society, knew its faults, and concealed none of them. It therefore lacked the hypocrisy and greed which was to undermine the morals of so many French families of a later generation and lead that country to catastrophe. If the d'Entrements would have preferred Hitler to Blum, it would have been out of ignorance rather than of fear. The Count was blind, but he had dignity, honesty, and courage. "Woman or no woman," he said in 1914, "I would rather fight for my country than do anything else in the world." And when he clinked his spurs and went off to war, "Only those who do not know how to live do not sin," he told his daughter, "but I have tried to do the least possible harm whenever I could." This is not the voice of a "collaborator," nor sentiments that could have been sincerely expressed by many Frenchmen born into a world such as his.

The only harm I can see that Mrs. McCormick has done is to give us, as the Countess gave her guests at those fabulous dinners, too much of a good thing. I needed a nap by the time the sherbet was served.

JAMES STERN

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Sedition by Mail

BLACK MAIL. By Henry Hoke. Reader's Book Service. $1.

IN THE early, uproarious days of the Washington marathon Nazi conspiracy trial, newspapermen found it still a novelty to watch the alleged seditionists gather and harangue each other on the wide courthouse steps. At least once during each recess some reporter would remark that it was inconceivable to him that the gaunt, sepulchral James (Kike-Killer) True, or the late deaf and aged Elmer J. Garner or the perpetually grinning Prescott Dennett really could be a danger to the government or could have plotted to undermine the morale of the armed forces. Other reporters would look about at the twisted face of David Baxter, California Nazi, the pallid, dead-end features of Peter Stahrenberg, the anti-Semitic printer, and the old-maidish Lois De Lafayette Washburn and agree that, perhaps the government was silly and should forget the prosecution.

Now, with the sedition trial in its nineteenth week, along comes Henry Hoke to prove effectively that the government was not silly at all. Hoke says that some of the defendants were responsible for what peppery little William Power Maloney, a government prosecutor, once described as "the most effective propaganda machine that this world has ever seen, so effective and so diabolically clever that it is able to reach in and use the halls of our own Congress as a sounding board for its lies and half truths. . . ."

Written in a florid, excited style, "Black Mail" is the first complete disclosure of the use the German government and its paid and voluntary agents made of the United States mails. Hoke takes apart the interlocking directorate of pro-Nazi propaganda agencies. He reveals the actual mechanics of the network which linked Congressmen to isolationists, America Firsters, German and Japanese agents and anti-Jewish pressure groups. Hoke leaves nothing to the imagination. He reports, for example, that Representative Hamilton Fish's office ordered and paid for 1,600,000 copies of anti-British, isolationist speeches and then distributed them to nationalist groups for free mailing under his Congressional frank.

Hoke discloses that the simple-looking Dennett acted as the front for George Sylvester Viereck, convicted Nazi agent, probably the top pre-war director of German propaganda in America. Viereck, a master at using the mails, was convicted on six counts. The second stated that part of his activities in behalf of Adolf Hitler included writing speeches for Congressmen and getting those speeches in the *Congressional Record*. These talks were reprinted at the request of one of the anti-British Congressmen, such as Senator Burton K. Wheeler. The reprints were then turned over to one of many isolationist fronts set up by friends—or outright agents—of the Reich. Hoke exposes the system which the pro-Germans developed for using Congress for its purposes.

The rest of the book is a detailed account of the anti-Semitic and nationalist propaganda which "Peace Now," the America First Party, and all the other peddlers of hate are still pouring into the mail to sucker lists from which they try to get a few dollars (and supporters) in preparation for the great revival they hope will set in for their trade when peace comes.

VICTOR RIESEL

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IN BRIEF

ANNA AND THE KING OF SIAM. By Margaret Landon. The John Day Company. $3.75.

There is extremely rich material in this story of the English woman, Anna Leonowens, who in the 1860's was engaged to teach English to the children and favorite concubines of the King of Siam. Mrs. Landon has done an extraordinary amount of conscientious research, and she handles her subject with competence and taste. Having lived for ten years in Siam, she knows the background of her story very well and has filled it in with great care. In a way the trouble with the book is that Mrs. Landon has not taken enough liberties with her material, partly because of her admirable desire to stick to the facts but mainly because she lacks the artists's flair that might make of her material the Arabian Nights tale which, in essence, it is. Likewise her heroine, the frail but redoubtable Anna, whose passion for uplift had its triumphs even in Siam, fails to take on her legitimate symbolic character as foil to the Oriental splendor and sordidness of the Siamese court, and she is not particularly engaging in her own right. The book is interesting, nevertheless, and it contains some wonderfully choice items—for instance, the description of Queen Victoria by the King's ambassador to the Court of St. James's. "One cannot but be struck with the aspect of the august Queen of England, or fail to observe that she must be of pure descent from a race of goodly and warlike kings and rulers of the earth, in that her eyes, complexion, and above all her bearing are those of a beautiful and majestic white elephant."

MUSIC

THERE was an occasion last spring to formulate my ideas on the critic's function and his relations to artist and reader. The occasion was a panel-discussion of dance criticism at the Y. M. H. A., in which I participated as a critic in another field who might have ideas on criticism in general that would be applicable to criticism of the dance. The subject of the discussion was "What Is Fair and Unfair in Dance Criticism?"; and my way of answering that question was to state what I thought was possible in criticism—what a critic could and should do.

Recently, I said, there have been people who have thought themselves ideally equipped to write about music for the lay newspaper or magazine audience by the fact that they operated on a level of insight, judgment, and taste no more professional or educated than their readers' own. But the idea used to be that the man who wrote about an art should be someone who could give his readers the benefit of an ability to see or hear more than they could. And that, I think, is the correct idea. The critic, properly, is someone with superior powers of perception who says to his reader: "This is what I have seen or heard"; after which the reader looks or listens, and says: "Why yes—how true, how wonderful!" But of course he also may say: "Why no—I don't see or hear that; I see or hear this." So with the critic's evaluation of what he perceives: "Why yes," says the reader, "such qualities make the work bad." But he also may say: "Why no—."

I went on to point out that according to this conception of the critic's activity he writes for his reader, not for the artist. And I made this point because the artist has a tendency to think that the critic operates primarily for him. Aaron Copland, for example, has argued that it is the critic's duty to nurture the artist—to tell him what is good in his work and what is bad, and presumably what can be improved and how to improve it. That, I contend, is not correct. If we assume, as we should, that the artist works from inner necessities, then it is for him to produce whatever those necessities dictate, and for the critic only to report to his reader what they have dictated. It is true, I added, that in such a report the critic does have certain obligations to the artist—the obligation to bring an unprejudiced and receptive mind to the artist's work, to keep that mind entirely on that work, and to report honestly what it finds there; the obligation, in other words, to write a criticism of the work, not to misuse it and misrepresent it in an exhibition of the critic's own cleverness, his wit, his learning, his pet ideas, his amusing style. But the critic who operates with competence and with un-self-conscious absorption in the work he is dealing with—this critic operates as he should, and with fairness to artist and reader.

All of this could be elaborated; what I want to say a little more about right now is the reader's "Why no—." As I have described the critic's activity it consists in using his powers of perception and evaluation to animate those of his reader. To animate—not to dictate: what the critic tells the reader about a piece of music the reader can accept as true for himself only if his own ears and mind verify it. But if the critic may not impose his greater insights on the reader, neither may the reader impose his lesser insights on the critic.

The reader who tries to do this, as I pointed out recently, is someone who, because he cannot hear something, does not believe anyone else can. One could say that he doesn't credit even the critic with insights greater than his own; but the truth is that he isn't aware of insights being involved. And this is only one of the misconceptions that add up to his ignorance about music and everything connected with it—composition, performance, criticism. He has no understanding of what sort of personal resources—of mind, emotion, character, experience—are involved, along with mere facility in sound, in the creation of good music; or of such personal resources being involved, along with more facility of fingers, in good performance. And he has no understanding of the fact that an equipment of the same professional caliber—both in sensitiveness to the medium and in personal resources

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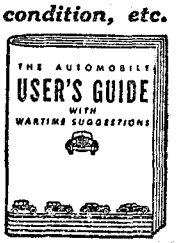

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—is involved in good criticism. That is why he is shocked by the critic's disrespect for a composer or violinist, but feels free to be arrogant to the critic.

It is also why he is shocked by the critic's intensity about what he thinks good or bad. That is, he doesn't realize it is the intensity of the professional who cares deeply about his art. Toscanini becomes enraged when a phrase is not as it should be, because that phrase is something he cares about. And Shaw once wrote: "People have pointed out evidences of personal feeling in my notices as if they were accusing me of a misdemeanor, not knowing that a criticism written without personal feeling is not worth reading. It is the capacity for making good or bad art a personal matter that makes a man a critic."

B. H. HAGGIN

CONTRIBUTORS

ANNA LOUISE STRONG first went to Russia in 1921 and has been a sympathetic observer of its development ever since. In 1930 she organized the Moscow *Daily News,* the first English-language paper in Russia. Her books include "Children of Revolution," "This Soviet World," "The Remaking of an American," and "I Change Worlds."

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Letters to the Editors

Prophecy

Dear Sirs: In his column of July 13, cabled from London, William Philip Simms wrote as follows:

"The outstanding impression which I brought back from Normandy is not the need for the United States to recognize General de Gaulle and his committee, as that General de Gaulle should recognize the United States."

In a fantasy entitled Mr. Hull's Bad Dream, published in *The Nation* on August 21, 1943, Paul Winkler wrote:

"The French Committee of National Liberation held a meeting in Algiers today, deliberating whether it should recognize the State Department as a body representing American interests."

Mr. Winkler's article was written in a satirical fashion, but it had a prophetic aspect.

Simms's point was that General de Gaulle has the necessary prestige for clearing up whatever misunderstandings may exist in France concerning America and Britain. Incidentally, this was his conclusion after he had visited Normandy. He had written a number of strongly anti-De Gaulle articles before he went abroad. MINNA DELMAN

New York, August 1

Soldiers and Votes

Dear Sirs: I recall reading some time ago in Letters to the Editors a communication which recounted at length the difficulties encountered in obtaining a soldier ballot. I am naturally not in a position to say whether the writer's account was strictly accurate but I would like to mention the fact that a different situation obtains in this part of the world.

In our particular outfit the War Ballot officers have been very active and efficient. Lectures—clear and unbiased—have been given to the troops and every opportunity has been offered to satisfy our questions on soldier voting. Just recently the first applications for ballots were quickly and thoroughly circulated. In fact, if an eligible soldier does not vote I would say it is entirely because of his own inertia. That remark applies only to the situation with which I am familiar.

It would be interesting to know the reactions of other soldiers. It seems to me the California case is an isolated instance—not that it isn't important to note isolated instances.

If I may put in a blurb for you, let me say that *The Nation* is coming through with admirable speed. It represents a fine source of stimulating opinion. Without it I would soon feel out of the running. Thanks to you for keeping me in touch with currents elsewhere.

K. W. G.

New Guinea, August 8

The Army Does Its Part

Dear Sirs: I think you might be interested in excerpts from a letter that I have just received from my younger brother, who is a non-commissioned officer serving in the United States Army abroad. I quote:

> The powers that be are going madly at the job of advising us of our voting rights, etc. Movies telling us that we are a democracy and that voting is a right we must exercise, pointing out to us that nobody can force us to vote if we don't want to, that our ballots are secret and that they don't give a damn whom we vote for, etc., whereas (as the film shows) in the Axis countries the soldiers are forced to vote and forced to vote for the dictator. . . . I doubt if most of the soldiers are going to vote. It has been made very easy for them to vote but from appearances they seem to believe that Roosevelt will get in anyway, regardless of how they vote. They want Roosevelt to be reelected but don't realize that he may need their votes. General thought is that Roosevelt got us into this Army, now let him get us out. There has been absolutely no electioneering. The War Department is being very scrupulous about that. I guess they don't want to get into any trouble with the Republicans.

L. FERGUSON

New York, August 3

The Hitch

Dear Sirs: "Soldier Voting Poster Number Two," was recently distributed to the Armed Forces by the War Department. The poster describes the methods and procedures for obtaining state absentee ballots. Upon casual and hasty inspection of the poster I noted the following statements:

New Mexico, The District of Columbia, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and Kentucky have no provisions for absentee voting or have suits pending as to whether or not absentee voting is constitutional.

Alabama, Delaware, and Louisiana

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allow the serviceman to vote from wherever he may be providing he is properly registered. To register in those three states, however, he has to appear *in person* before designated local election officials in the State.

Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, South Carolina, require the serviceman to pay the State poll tax.

Arkansas has a twelve-day period from the day they fix as the earliest date of sending out State absentee ballots and the date on which they must be received in the State. Obviously even if all the ballots were sent out on the very first of these twelve days only a very small portion of domestically stationed servicemen could return their ballots in time.

PVT. M. S.

Somewhere in California, August 21

Baron Wiseacre

Dear Sirs: The New York *Times* of July 6 carried a dispatch from its Rome correspondent, Herbert L. Matthews, acquainting the American public with the latest phase in the efforts of the Vatican to bring about a negotiated peace "with as many elements of compromise in it as possible." It is explained that "presumptive peace negotiators" for the European Axis are actually in Vatican City, namely, the envoys to the Holy See of Germany, Hungary, Rumania, Slovakia, and Finland, led by Baron Ernst von Weizsaecker, the German Ambassador. We are, moreover, informed that "every one of these men . . . has often been in touch with Harold H. Tittman, Jr., the American Chargé d'Affaires, and Francis d'Arcy Osborne, the British Ambassador, in recent months."

This correspondent, who has not the privilege of being an American citizen, does not wish to raise the question whether for Allied diplomats to be "often in touch" with Axis diplomats at the present juncture is or is not consistent with the acknowledged policy of unconditional surrender. Since evidently the contacts exist, he deems it his duty, however, to assist Americans in getting an adequate picture of the Axis peace negotiators. He begs to differ from Mr. Matthews, who introduces these men by saying they "are all irons in the Allied fire, so to speak. Every one of them is notoriously Anglophile. Not one of them is a genuine supporter of the Axis or of the governments they represent"; and who assures us specifically that Baron von Weizsaecker "is not at all a Nazi."

True, Baron von Weizsaecker—to concentrate on the man whom Mr. Matthews describes as "the most important of all"—probably never wore a brown shirt or joined the Nazi Party, and it may well be assumed that neither in public nor in private did he ever curse a Jew, Churchill, or even the Bolsheviks. He is a gentleman of the old school, scion of a distinguished and cultured Wuerttemberg family, an accomplished musician, using the pleasant ways and mild manners that made him congenial at the gatherings of the League of Nations, where he often sat on behalf of the German government. The baron does not talk Nazi; that would be beneath his breeding and his dignity. Nor would such a man fully subscribe to a political program that includes so much shocking and in the final analysis really quite unnecessary "radicalism." At many a dinner table and also to visitors before his desk the baron has taken exception to Nazi policies.

So the baron is not a genuine supporter of the Nazi government! The Nazis apparently disagree with Mr. Matthews. While the baron has held the rank of an envoy since 1931, it was under Hitler that he rapidly rose to prominence. In 1933 he received his first major foreign assignment, when he was accredited to the Swiss government. In 1936 he was appointed to no less a post than that of an acting director of the Political Division in the Berlin Foreign Office. In 1937 he was promoted to full director, and in April, 1938, immediately after the Austrian coup, he became Secretary of State in the Foreign Office, the German equivalent, or almost, of the post of Undersecretary of State in this country. In other words Hitler gave him key positions, and his job was precisely to assist the Nazis in the diplomatic preparation for and the diplomatic conduct of their present war. Did Hitler bestow so great a responsibility on a man who did not support his government? Or can one assume that the baron faked his loyalties—faked them successfully for some ten years?

Baron von Weizsaecker's record is clear; from the outset he has freely lent his good name, his considerable talents, and his experience to Adolf Hitler. Not only has he been a supporter of his government. Like the notorious Dr. Schacht he stands out as a particularly dangerous specimen of Nazi agent. Well-groomed and well-spoken, respectable, a gentleman from top to toe, ostensibly critical of the Nazis, an "Anglophile," the baron is ideally suited for the job of befuddling those who cannot or will not see through the Nazi game.

The Stalingrad disaster brought it home to the Nazis that they could not win the war and that their only hope lay in a negotiated peace. At that time the baron left his post in Berlin for that of Ambassador to the Vatican. A clever appointment. Baron von Weizsaecker is an "honorable man," and it seems that there is no Mark Antony to show him up on the *forum Romanum.*

LUDWIG HAMBURGER

Washington, D. C., July 31

For Unity

Dear Sirs: In your editorial in the issue of August 5 you write that ". . . if the progressives realize their strength in time they can shape a counteroffensive. For numbers are on their side and the hopes of ordinary men and women and the deepest requirements of our struggling civilization." That is so terribly true that the failure (aside from PAC) of progressives to unite is a sad story for us. The worst example of progressive petulance in recent months has been the decision of the Liberal Party to follow the "no, no, my way only" path to salvation. And that has been the tragic fallacy of progressive movements in America. The history of our intelligent minority movements has been a history of internal bickering, of fatal schisms. But now we have come to a time in the development of our nation when it is vital that the differences between men who place the dignity of life above the value of the dollar sign be resolved into a strong and forceful unity. The forces of reaction are gathering in full power for the kill.

To achieve that unity a congress must be held—after the November elections whether Roosevelt is elected or not, and especially if not—a congress of all the forces which have in one way or another demonstrated their adherence to the principles enumerated.

The composition of the Congress would be varied—organizations like the Union for Democratic Action, Friends of Democracy, the Communist Political Association, Socialist Party, the American Labor Party, the Liberal Party; newspapermen like Max Lerner, Sam Grafton, Freda Kirchwey, Bruce Bliven, Joseph North, Jennings Perry, Kenneth Leslie, George Seldes; union leaders like Phil Murray, Phil Carey, Joseph Curran, Albert Fitzgerald, John Green, Reid Robinson, Harry Bridges, Emil Rieve, Dan Tobin, A. F. Whitney; farm leaders, James Patton, Murray Lincoln;

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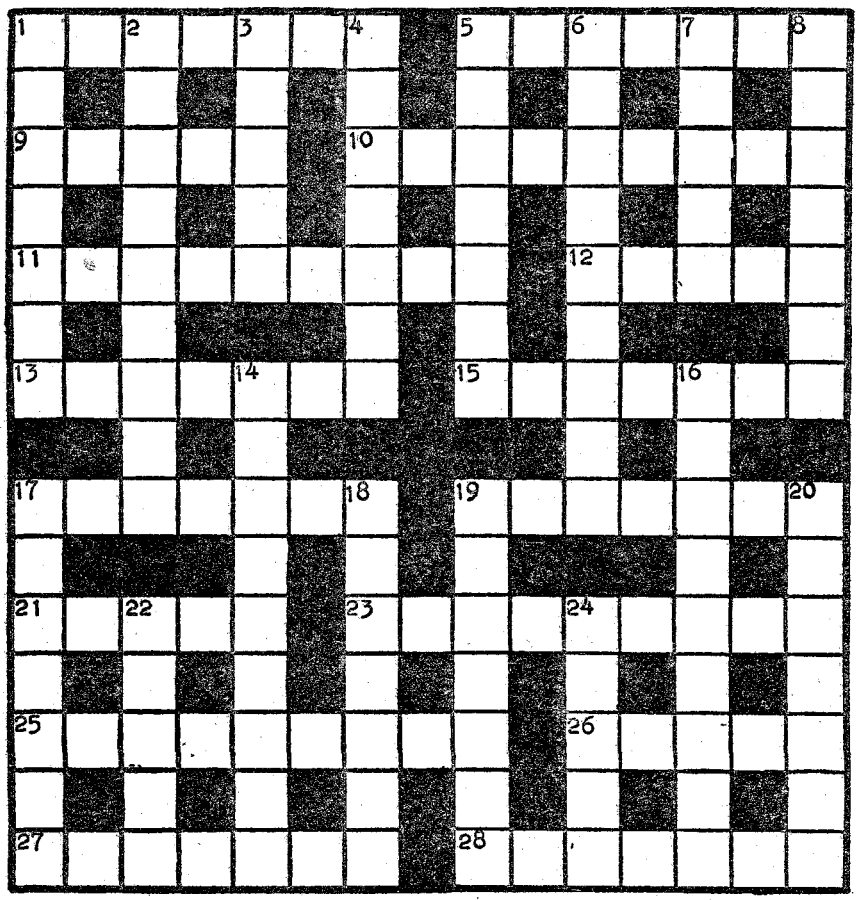
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 79

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Gate with only one post
5 A family of great expectations, in Dickens
9 Suitable beverage for Haile Selassie?
10 Signally expressive, that's the long and short of it (two words, 5 and 4)
11 Characteristics peculiar to a certain class (hyphen, 4-5)
12 "Their cause I -----, ----- it in heart and mind; A fellow-feeling makes one wondrous kind" (Garrick)
13 A round figure, though it sounds like a round letter
15 Letters from a colonist
17 In bed less and consequently happy
19 Bobadil did, in Jonson's *Every Man in His Humour*
21 Considered as a record of the amount of seaside air required, it doesn't seem enough
23 "There is nothing new except what is ---------" (Mlle. Bertin to Marie Antoinette)
25 Parisian night club
26 "The atrocious ----- of being a young man," as Dr. Johnson once expressed it
27 System of holding land in single holdings made up of detached pieces
28 Infuriates

DOWN

1 Wild creature whose foot pollinates flowers
2 Tune is rag (anag.)
3 Where the English have their Derby
4 To be found in the Book of Numbers, no doubt
5 Sticklers for perfect speech
6 Had her nose been shorter the face of the whole world might have been changed
7 Eat away
8 Unsuccessful suitor for the hand of "Sweet Anne Page"
14 Wife of Othello
16 "But Hudibras gave him a twitch As quick as --------- in the breech" (Butler)
17 Fish we do not find in the sea
18 Precious pair in *The Tale of Two Cities* (she, a dangerous woman, everlastingly knitting)
19 Garnets (anag.)
20 They know all about Bobs minor, major, royal and maximus
22 Sultan of the East; conqueror of the Christians. A magnanimous man
24 It may happen that a conscientious objector turns on a dog

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 78

ACROSS:—1 PARSNIPS; 5 FINISH; 10 FANCIER; 11 ERL-KING; 12 LILY; 13 DIVER; 16 DAUB; 17 SATIRES; 19 BOGUS; 20 CEREAL; 22 SHALLOW; 23 HAWAII; 25 VENOM; 27 ENTICED; 31 TWIN; 32 GONER; 33 FISH; 36 APERIES; 37 SPECIES; 38 DASHES; 39 FREDERIC.

DOWN:—1 PIFFLE; 2 RINALDO; 3 NAIL; 4 PERMIT; 6 ILLS; 7 IMITATE; 8 HIGHBALL; 9 REFER; 13 DASHING; 14 VILLAIN; 15 RECOVER; 17 SUSIE; 18 SEWED; 21 SHETLAND; 24 WAITERS; 26 OLIVIER; 28 TOAST; 29 CENSOR; 30 PHYSIC; 34 MINE; 35 LEAD.

Negro leaders, Walter White, Clayton Powell, A. Philip Randolph; writers, Howard Fast, Ruth McKenney, Ernest Hemingway, John Dos Passos; professors, Ralph Barton Perry, R. M. Lynd, Francis McMahon, Oscar Lange; radio commentators like Frank Kingdon; and, of course, Hollywood.

And the course of action? Discussions should be held on the basic necessity for unity among all of these groups. Committees could be set up, and procedures established for cooperation. Difficulties between many progressives could perhaps be ironed out by face-to-face meetings. Fantastic? I don't know. All over the world people have discovered how basic is the need for unity against reaction. There's the story of Yugoslavia still fresh for us to read, of Italian unity, of French unity. People can come together if they are honest and talk out the difficulties which lie between them and find mutual bases for active cooperation. No one man, no one group possesses the one and only, the true way to "salvation."

For some reason there has been an awful apathy among progressives to bestir themselves from their typewriters, march out of their own lush Arcadias of democracy, and shake hands with each other. It would do a hell of a lot of people a hell of a lot of good, not to mention the country.

CORPORAL

Somewhere in New Jersey, August 10

Letters Wanted

Dear Sirs: I am compiling a book of letters written by women serving overseas in the military services of the United States and will be grateful for copies of letters. A book of such letters, describing the experiences, thoughts, and reactions of our enlisted women, I believe, will not only be of interest to men and women at home but will be a valuable historical record, inasmuch as this is the first time that women have served their country overseas in the military services. Copies of letters should be addressed to Miss Alma Lutz, 22 River Street, Boston 8, Massachusetts, and should have noted on them the name, rank, branch of service, and location of the writer; also the name and address of the sender and his or her relationship to the writer of the letter. Any originals sent for copying will receive good care and be promptly returned.

ALMA LUTZ

Boston, Mass, August 20

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